The Nation. March 31, 1979 $1

SPECIAL REPORT

THE IRANIAN REFERENDUM

KAI BIRD

Teheran

In the referendum scheduled for March 30, barely a month after the revolution, the Iranian people will be called upon to ratify a decision already made by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Ayatollah Khomeini and set off on the untraveled road to an Islamic republic.

Given the choice between an Islamic republic—which has yet to be defined—and the discredited monarchy, the result of the upcoming referendum is a foregone conclusion. Because the proposed Constitution for such a republic, already drafted by a committee of five jurists and approved by Ayatollah Khomeini, has not yet been made public, the referendum can be little more than the endorsement of a slogan, and will inevitably become a vote of confidence in the Government of Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan and his Deputy Prime Minister for Revolutionary Affairs, Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi.

Yet there is every reason to believe that the still unpublished Constitution will include all the elements of a liberal democratic system. Minister of Information Nasser Menachi, a close confidant of Bazargan and a man with impeccable civil libertarian credentials, told *The Nation* that "the new Constitution—which has been drafted by five foreign-trained jurists—contains the strongest possible civil libertarian guarantees . . . and Khomeini himself has approved the document with but the most minor changes, a fact which should be read as an extremely good sign."

(Continued on Next Page)

WAR TALK IN PEKING
James Aronson

GOD, MAN AND THE REV. MOON
Anne Nelson

AMERICA AMOK
Philip Green

RALPH WALDO EMERSON
Earl Rovit

A.C.L.U. AND THE NAZIS
Thomas Emerson

THE CARTER CONNECTION

WHY THINGS GO BETTER WITH COKE

RICHARD J. WALTON

During his election campaign, Jimmy Carter was asked who would hold his political I.O.U.s if he won. Carter, who prided himself on running a political campaign without incurring political debts, thought for a moment and offered only one name: that of Congressman Andrew Young. "I don't know if I could think of any other one."

Carter should have thought harder and added the name of J. Paul Austin, chairman of The Coca-Cola Company. Since the election it has been plain—as journalists cannot resist writing—that things have indeed gone better with Coke. When Austin announced, just days after the normalization agreement, that Coke had signed an exclusive deal with China, heads nodded knowingly.

Pepsi had had its day—getting an exclusive contract for the Soviet Union (now being challenged by Coke)—when Richard Nixon, close friend of Pepsico Inc. chairman Donald Kendall, was in the White House, and now it was Coke's turn because Austin was a "close personal friend and longtime political supporter" of fellow Georgian Jimmy Carter. That quotation, all but mandatory in any news story about Austin, is both exaggerated and greatly understated. Austin and Carter are friendly, to be sure, but the closeness of their relationship has been much overstated. They are friendly but not intimate, whereas Nixon played the piano at the wedding of Kendall's daughter.

But even if the degree of personal inti-

(Continued on Page 332)

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from Front Cover)

The Ayatollah will reportedly have no formal office in the proposed Islamic republic. Elections are scheduled to be held within several months after the adoption of the Constitution.

The uncertainties of the present situation have bred considerable fear among Iranian feminists, Marxists and the democratic left—all of whom constitute a definite minority in Iran's post-revolutionary political consensus. The feminists succeeded in extracting a statement from Ayatollah Khomeini that his previous pronouncements on the necessity of *hijab* (female modesty) were not meant to imply that the wearing of the black chador, or veil, was compulsory. Nevertheless, the women's demonstrations did elicit ugly charges of Savak sponsorship and foreign "cultural imperialism." Women are still not seen on the Government-controlled television broadcasts and secular-minded feminists on the Teheran University campus openly express fears that their job opportunities will become restricted in an Islamic republic.

The student Marxists, the two armed guerrilla groupings—the Fedayeen and the Mujahedeen—and an emerging social democratic opposition all charge that they have been excluded from the Provisional Government and that the upcoming referendum will only ratify their enforced isolation. Of particular concern to men like Hedayatallah Matin-daftari, grandson of the legendary Mohammed Mossadegh and leader of the newly formed National Democratic Front, is their exclusion from the hundreds of local Komitehs—armed revolutionary committees.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government could easily exclude the Iranian left, so overwhelming and genuinely euphoric is the consensus for an Islamic republic. The question for the secular left, represented by Matin-daftari's National Democratic Front, is whether it can remain vocal enough to insure that minority views will be tolerated in the new state. This resolves down to how much of the present Islamic national consensus civil libertarians like Prime Minister Bazargan are willing to sacrifice in the interest of democratic norms.

Bazargan is under extreme pressure to maintain this national consensus, but the pressure does not really come from the Ayatollah Khomeini, as has been reported in the Western press. Khomeini sits in Qum and maintains his distance from the day-to-day political infighting of the Provisional Government in Teheran. The tension is not between Khomeini and Bazargan but between Bazargan and his Deputy Prime Minister, Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi.

"Dr. Yazdi has become too strong," says a Teheran University history professor, "and it is his growing political power that is creating divisions." The soft-spoken doctor, who spent eighteen years in the United States before returning to Iran with Khomeini, is an appointee of the Ayatollah and not Bazargan. The doctor reportedly exercises some degree of control over the revolutionary Komitehs—both the revolutionary tribunals responsible for the summary executions and the armed neighborhood Komitehs.

Bazargan has stopped the summary executions—but to do so he had to travel to Qum and threaten Khomeini with his resignation. The tribunals have been restricted, but Dr. Yazdi still controls the neighborhood Komitehs. In an interview with *The Nation*, Dr. Yazdi said these Komitehs will soon be disbanded. "We are in the process of establishing a new national guard to replace the Komitehs," Dr. Yazdi said. "But first we must identify the Komitehs, many of which have popped up spontaneously, and screen their memberships of possible Savak agents . . . the local mullahs in each mosque will administer this transition."

The Iranian left—including both independent armed guerrilla groups (the Marxist-Leninist Fedayeen and the progressive Moslem Mujahedeen)—perceive a potential threat in the transformation of the armed Komitehs into regular militia. But the left's fears may be overblown, given the reportedly democratic nature of the new Constitution.

Perhaps the most reassuring evidence on the future course of the Iranian revolution comes from the streets of Teheran. The atmosphere is reminiscent of the exuberance displayed soon after the Portuguese revolution in the summer of 1975. The newspapers are full of debate and the sidewalks of downtown Teheran are crowded with makeshift bookstalls selling the previously forbidden—Karl Marx, Lenin, Oriana Fallaci's *Letter to an Unborn Child*, and the progressive Moslem writings of the late Dr. Ali Shariati and other formerly imprisoned authors.

Whatever the future course of this remarkable revolution, the spring of 1979 is budding with hopes of broader freedoms and economic well-being for the Iranian people. It has been a long winter, but the fall of the Pahlevi monarchy has at least freed the people to dream—and freed them from the past as well.

Editor's Note

In order to bring you this Special Report by Assistant Editor Kai Bird, we are omitting the letters column this week. They'll be back in the usual place next week. When space permits, the considerable reader response to our symposium on bilingualism will appear. . . . As it happens, we have another on-the-spot report in this issue from Peking by our new China watcher, James Aronson (page 328). Anent Richard Walton's cover story on Coke's China deal, Aronson had this to say: "Believe it or not, it was made because they felt tourists could not do without Coke. Chinese can't get it. It costs 60 cents and has to be paid in U.S. coin or special check, and is available only in a few places thus far."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 228, No. 12

COVER:
Special Report:
The Iranian Referendum — *Kai Bird*
The Carter Connection:
Why Things Go Better With Coke — *Richard J. Walton*

EDITORIALS
323 Brazil '64
324 Death Wish — *Randall Williams*
324 A Beginning

ARTICLES
325 The Church Political:
God, Man and the Rev. Moon — *Anne Nelson*
328 China Watcher:
War Talk in Peking — *James Aronson*
330 Judge Watch 6:
Verdict on the Commissions — *Dorothy J. Samuels and James A. Goodman*
337 *Nation* Essay:
America Amok — *Philip Green*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
341 Porte: Representative Man — *Earl Rovit*
342 White: The Philosophy of the American Revolution
Wills: Inventing America — *Richard Rabinowitz*
344 Neier: Defending My Enemy — *Thomas I. Emerson*
345 Chomsky: Language and Responsibility — *Gilbert Harman*
347 Films — *Robert Hatch*

Drawings by John Alcorn

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Literary Editor*, Elizabeth Pochoda; *Poetry Editor*, Grace Schulman; *Copy Editor*, Patricia Dowling; *Assistant Copy Editor*, Sydne Silverstein; *Assistant Editor*, Kai Bird; *Editorial Assistants*, Karen Wilcox, Amy Wilentz; *Editorial Secretary*, Ola Lyon.

Departments: *Art*, Lawrence Alloway; *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Dance*, Nancy Goldner; *Films*, Robert Hatch; *Indigenous Music*, Nat Hentoff; *Music*, David Hamilton; *Press*, Richard Pollak; *Television*, Peter Sourian; *Theater*, Harold Clurman; *White House Correspondent*, Robert Sherrill. *Correspondents*: *Bonn*, C. Amery; *Canberra*, C.P. Fitzgerald; *Latin America*, Penny Lernoux; *London*, Raymond Williams; *Paris*, Claude Bourdet; *Peking*, James Aronson. *Columnists*: Carey McWilliams, Calvin Trillin. *Contributing Editor*, Blair Clark. *Editorial Board*: James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Robert Lekachman, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Marcus Raskin, A.W. Singham, Alan Wolfe.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish

Advertising Manager, Susan Ellen Heitler; *Business Manager*, Ann B. Epstein; *Circulation Manager*, Gloria Sangster; *Production Coordinator*, Deborah Thomas; *Assistant to Publisher*, Karen Polk; *Staff*, John Holtz, Greta Loell; *Administrative Secretary*, Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates*, Claudine Bacher. *Nation News Service*, Joanne Grant.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and bi-weekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1979 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10014. Tel.: 212-242-8400. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Subscription Price: One year, $21; two years, $37. Student rate $15 a year. Add $3 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $5 other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds.

EDITORIALS.

Brazil '64

In Brazil the month of March has produced a kind of time warp—a conjunction of past and future. The future is embodied in the new President, Gen. Joao Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo, who promises increased democracy and a continuance of the "redemocratization" policies begun under his predecessor, Gen. Ernesto Geisel. One can only wonder how much democracy the future will in fact bring, given General Figueiredo's campaign promise to be a sort of political Pele: "If the politicians play well, fine. But if they play badly, I will put the ball under my arm and leave the field."

The past rises up when we recall that fifteen years ago, on March 31, a military coup ousted President Joao Goulart and placed Brazil under the brutal and totalitarian rule of military-men Presidents, of which General Figueiredo is the fifth and, one hopes, the last. A new book to be published in June by the University of Texas Press, *Brazil and the Quiet Revolution* by Phyllis R. Parker, reveals the United States' role as an enthusiastic, albeit silent, supporter of the March 31 military coup. The American country team in Brazil at the time, which included Ambassador Lincoln Gordon and Col. Vernon Walker, the man who gave us counterinsurgency, hatched the idea of throwing American support behind the military opposition to Goulart. With the approval of the Johnson Administration, a contingency plan was formulated in Washington under which American supplies, including weapons, would be sent to the Brazilian military and a naval task force, led by the carrier *Forrestal*, dispatched to Rio de Janeiro to show the flag. When the coup came, this plan was actually set in motion, but later aborted when it turned out that the Brazilian military did not need help. The net result was, as Parker writes, "the United States became tied to a military Government that has increasingly maintained its authority by force and repression."

Now, that military Government proclaims that it will wipe out the worst excesses of the past and embark upon redemocratization. But when the Brazilian establishment speaks of redemocratization, they add the descriptive phrase "decompression"—meaning to take the pressure off at the top, with only limited participation from the bottom. In other words, a

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
APR 4 1979
LICENSED TO OCLC.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

turning-back of the clock to pre-coup 1964, when a literate minority exercised democratic rights and the great majority lived in misery.

But limited democracy may not be enough for Brazil, and social unrest will increase as more people demand social justice, in addition to political freedom. The United States must not forget the lessons of '64. We should offer the kind of sympathetic support for social change that we once gave to reaction. In the words of Ambassador Andrew Young, "Fear of social change is the thing we need to fear the most."

Death Wish

The decision on whether the first execution in this country since the death of Gary Gilmore before a Utah firing squad will take place on April 6 rests mainly with the victim, John Louis Evans 3d. Like Gilmore, Evans says that he would rather die than spend the rest of his life in an Alabama prison.

From the start, Evans proclaimed his preference for execution over imprisonment in Alabama's substandard prison system. He and a co-defendant freely confessed to robbing and murdering a Mobile pawnbroker. During the trial the two men threatened repeatedly that they would hunt down and kill the members of the jury as soon as they could escape or were freed on parole, unless they were sentenced to death. Not surprisingly, the jury acquiesced. (Evans's co-defendant's sentence has been suspended for a new hearing ordered by the Alabama Supreme Court.) Evans later permitted his lawyer to go ahead with an appeal, but only in order to gain time to lobby for improved conditions on death row and a change in the method of execution (he prefers a lethal injection, so that he can donate his body to science—which is not possible after electrocution).

Evans subsequently changed his mind for perhaps the last time, saying that conditions on death row are so dehumanizing that he prefers death. His attorney, John Carroll of the Southern Poverty Law Center, is representing forty other death-row inmates, who charge that their incarceration violates the constitutional prohibition of cruel and unusual punishment. But Evans says he wants no more delays through appeals. "I want out of the 'hell' bad enough that if my only way to accomplish it is by dying, then that's just the way it'll have to be," he says.

He does hope that this execution will dramatize the conditions on death row, but Jennifer Johnston, director of the Alabama Prison Project, complains that not a single press report so far has alluded to the inmates' grievances. Johnston has been planning a statewide conference to discuss the death penalty and Alabama prison conditions in general, but John Evans's participation remains doubtful. The conference is scheduled for April 7, and, unless he changes his death wish, or a desperation appeal Carroll filed on his own is successful, on April 6 the state, in all its solemn majesty, will make his wish come true.

RANDALL WILLIAMS

Randall Williams is a freelance reporter and a staff member of the Institute for Southern Studies.

A Beginning

Before pen was even put to paper in Washington, the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty received a stinging blow from Menachem Begin in the Knesset. We can only hope that the Prime Minister's rhetorical vow that Israel will "never" permit a Palestinian state in the West Bank or Gaza was just that—rhetoric, to be placed within the context of the occasion, the ratification debates in the Israeli legislature. Begin may have slammed the door with a dramatic flourish, but the new treaty is still a wedge that keeps that door from being permanently shut. Nor need the Palestinian side voice further calls to arms. A process has been set in motion, and after the violent reactions have died down, they may want to join it, as we explain below. We regard with more alarm the massive shipments of new military hardware that Egypt and Israel are soon to receive; a stepped-up arms race in the region seems an inauspicious beginning for a peace treaty.

Having said this, we must disagree with the mixed chorus of pundits who have been quick to impugn the treaty because it leaves explosive issues—namely the future of the West Bank and Gaza—unresolved. Obviously it does just that, but in the inevitable rush of attention to the "Palestine question," the immense achievement already in hand should not be taken for granted and the historic lessons ignored. Those who are persuaded that the Palestinians are the "core of the problem" might recall that most of the five Arab-Israeli wars were precipitated over Sinai and not the "core," and that the incredible carnage of the last rounds would likely have been prevented had the Egyptians been given a few miles of desert on the east bank of the Suez Canal.

It is also worth remembering that before the Sadat initiative leading to the current agreement, the Middle East was headed for another calamitous shoot-out precisely because the now intractable "core" question was being placed at the heart of the agenda in Geneva. With the Palestinian question thus frustrating the achievement of its most vital national interest, Egypt would ultimately have fought again. President Anwar el-Sadat's genius was in abandoning the chimera of a one-stroke comprehensive solution and separating the two issues.

That, plus his dramatic trip to Jerusalem granting Israel's legitimacy for the first time, made it possible for him to win what no one had thought any Israeli Government, certainly not one headed by Menachem

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tries there are divisions, and these should be encouraged. "We must distinguish," the Chinese say, "between the United States and the Soviet Union even though they are both superpowers, whatever else we may call them. At least one (the United States) is willing to say that it is opposed to hegemonism. The United States, however, is in a defensive position, and the main threat of war lies with the Soviet Union. The people of the world should unite and deal with this threat."

How? They do not spell it out. They are determined not to tell other nations how to shape their policies; but they do say that when the people of the world "fully understand the danger," they will join with China in seeking to isolate and contain it at its source—both the "larger hegemonist" on the world scene (the Soviet Union) and the "regional hegemonist" on the Southeast Asian scene (Vietnam). This was Mao's view, they say: "One line, one front." And it formed the "strategic basis" of Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping's visit to the United States. The Chinese believe that the theory is "scientific and sound."

Why do the Chinese feel that the United States and the Soviet Union are on a collision course to war? Their response bristles with statistics: "Despite the SALT talks, the supply of nuclear bombs has not decreased. On the contrary, in the last years the United States has doubled its stockpile, and the Soviet supply has gone up five times. But the question of nuclear weapons now is one of quality, not quantity. The two superpowers are in a struggle to the death. They discuss these lethal weapons endlessly and haggle over details. Each side seeks to restrict the other, but neither side will get what it wants. What difference does it make if a plane carries twenty or eighty weapons? The talks are ineffectual. Both sides see this but seem impelled to go on. Meanwhile, there are absolutely no restrictions on conventional weapons."

The Soviet Union and the United States, the Chinese believe, have placed Europe at the top of the strategic list. There has been "no relaxation of vigilance by either side in Europe for thirty-three years." The basic difference, however, is that the Soviet Union is "strengthening its ability for sudden attack," while the United States is stepping up its defenses: "Once something stirs in Europe, war will burst." But, they caution, "it may not happen there." They elaborate on this theory with a long list of allegations about Soviet activity around the world:

> In northeast Afghanistan, the Soviet Union is increasing its strength. . . . Its Pacific fleet has increased to 440 ships (the United States has fifty). . . . Its control reaches all the way down to the Indian Ocean. . . . There's the question of Chad. . . . In January and February of last year there was Somalia. . . . In April there was Yemen—both countries lost their heads of state by assassination, and the border war followed.
>
> And now Japan, which faces a grave threat, and the dispute over the islands. We cannot exclude Moscow starting something if the conditions are right. It is necessary for Japan to maintain its defensive alliance with the United States. The Japanese could lose their country. You feel that sounds too exaggerated? Then what about Kampuchea? We know what occupation means, and we are prepared to ally ourselves with anyone willing to resist this great arc of danger.

The Chinese charge that the Soviet Union's strategy calls for fomenting unstable internal conditions. "Its methods are ruthless—murder, sabotage and treachery to achieve its aims. The C.I.A. was small potatoes compared with the K.G.B. Anyone who shows the slightest sign of independence is to be gotten rid of. They make use of mercenaries from dependent countries to serve their purposes."

In Peking the references to Cuba are not oblique. They give short shrift to the idea that the Cubans are in Africa of their own free will, out of a sense of solidarity with (for many Cubans) their African ancestors: "The Cubans are lackeys fed and led by the Soviet Union. The Russians buy half the crop of Cuban sugar at four times the world market price—28 cents rather than 7 cents. With a population of nine million, Cuba has 40,000 to 50,000 of its troops abroad—one-fourth of its armed forces. The Cubans are selling their labor and their lives to the Soviet imperialists."

Finally, in chronological fashion, the talk reaches Vietnam. For Americans who were deeply involved for ten years or more in the resistance to the war in Vietnam, it is difficult—sometimes impossible—to cast Vietnam in the role of enemy—anyone's enemy. But in Peking the view, based on the record as they present it, is different. Vietnam, the Chinese say, has become an *agent provocateur*. They dismiss the "traditional" hostility between the Vietnamese and the Chi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nese as a convenient ploy for pseudohistorians and lazy journalists. Of course imperial China did terrible things to the Vietnamese, they agree, "but they are not dealing with imperial China any longer—this is the People's Republic of China." They note that Premier Zhou Enlai even apologized in person in Hanoi for crimes 2,000 years old, "but the Vietnamese go right on memorializing these events."

Having said this, the Chinese add that Vietnamese animosity did not rise suddenly in the last year or two; it was there "even when they were under siege by the United States imperialists. But we ignored that and helped them anyway." After the Vietnamese victory in 1975, the Chinese say, relations became worse. They speak of this with a sense of hurt, as though a member of the family had turned renegade. They note that China helped the Vietnamese liberation movement to the tune of $8 billion, "when our own people went without necessities so we could assist them in their struggle." They express no regret for the help given: "It was a just struggle."

They concede there are disputed areas at the border, and contend that China has offered repeatedly to negotiate—despite innumerable border violations by the Vietnamese—but, they insist, the Vietnamese have refused to discuss the problem. They note that 200,000 Chinese have left Vietnam since last April—driven out, they say. Who drove them out? "They blame us, but surely we could not drive people out of Vietnam; that would be impossible."

My Chinese journalist friends portray the Vietnamese leadership as "rascals, political hoodlums in the international arena . . . sticking up their tails and proclaiming they have the third greatest military machine in the world." They are, however, conscious of Vietnam's military strength and capability, given its store of American, Soviet and even Chinese weapons—the last, the journalists tell me, used against their former allies in the border fighting. What about the Vietnamese charges of Chinese aggrandizement? They hoot in derision: "Who are they to talk? They have taken over Laos, swallowed Kampuchea and pose a threat to all Southeast Asia. We don't want an inch of their territory. All we want is for them to stop behaving like rascals."

Then, finally, back to the larger picture: "If we allow the Soviet Union, Cuba and Vietnam to control strategic points, conditions for world war would become ripe. If we oppose it, we push back the threat of war." Clearly, in their view, the Vietnam action fell into this category. It was a delaying action. To them Kampuchea was not only an outrage but will ultimately be a "quagmire" for Vietnam. They see the Russians with fewer and fewer friends around the world because of increasing suspicion about Soviet intentions. And what about the United States?

"During the recent period," they say, "China and the United States have normalized relations, and since Vice Premier Deng's visit, there has been a quickening of normalization. It is of tremendous importance. The thirty years of hostility were a historical mistake."

The new American hand in China, an old hand in America in the battle against the cold war, digests that. Aloud he asks whether, as so many friends of China in the United States feel, the new trade agreements do not pose a peril to the Chinese revolution. Smiles and a small pause. Then: "We have not forgotten our own experience of imperialism. But this is not the old China. We are a poor country and we must modernize for the sake of our own people. Of course there are risks, but they must be taken. And remember, there is a distinction between modernization and Westernization."

This is said without challenge or bravado, but with a determination which is eloquent. That same sense of quiet determination pervades the atmosphere of Peking. I find that everyone talks about Vietnam but there is no crisis mood. Crowds flock to see Chaplin in *Modern Times* as well as to the Peking Opera where the Monkey King conquers the White-Boned Devil (who bears an interesting resemblance to Mao's widow, Jiang Qing).

To those concerned about the corruption of China's great traditions, I can report no McDonald's in the environs of Tian An Men, but I did have a superb Peking duck at the Peking Roast Duck Restaurant in Liu Li Chang. I did have a Coke—my first in ten years—but I had to cross into American territory to get it. The day the Liaison Office turned into an Embassy, our hosts served Coke and cookies. I can easily wait another ten years. □

JUDGE WATCH 6

Verdict on the Commissions

DOROTHY J. SAMUELS
and JAMES A. GOODMAN

Citizen commissions were once thought by many, including President Carter, to hold the promise of a new era of judge selection "on merit." Early on in his Administration, Carter created citizen panels to screen and recommend candidates for nomination to the eleven United States Circuit Courts of Appeals. Carter has also encouraged Senators to establish their own commissions for District judge selection, and Senators in twenty-six states, as well as the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, have formed such commissions.

Dorothy J. Samuels is executive director and James A. Goodman is the Washington representative of the Committee for Public Justice, a national civil liberties organization. The monitoring of Federal judge selection is a joint undertaking of the committee and The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the performance of judge selection commissions, especially at the District Court level, has come under criticism from a number of sources and for a variety of reasons. Attorney General Bell finds that the commissions are "fraught with problems." While Bell acknowledges that commissions have created a more open selection process, he complains about their lack of accountability and is skeptical about whether commissions have affected any real reform in the selection process: "Have we just transferred politics from the Senate and White House over to the commissions?" Bell asked the Senate Judiciary Committee at hearings on judge selection last January.

Civil rights and women's rights activists have been disappointed by the failure of the District Court nominating commissions to do much better than the Senators themselves in seeking out qualified minority and women candidates. At the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on selection, Clarence Mitchell, former head of the N.A.A.C.P.'s Washington, D.C., office, pointed out that in his own home state of Maryland, Democrat Paul Sarbanes probably did better in terms of outreach by choosing not to appoint a commission. Sarbanes ultimately recommended State Judges Shirley Jones and Joseph Howard, a black, to the two new judgeships in Maryland. Had he used a commission, suggested Mitchell, "You would never get through the gauntlet of establishment types who want to knock out the blacks and go through a lot of sanctimonious considerations but really do not have as an object being fair."

The performance of Carter's Circuit Court nominating panels appears to have been more successful. Though the membership of these panels is very political, for the most part, the panels' recommendations do not reflect the cronyism and narrow vision that in many cases have marred Senatorial selection of District judges, even where commissions were used. Not

Judiciary Progress Report

A Weak Link. Although the quality of Circuit Court candidates is generally high, there are a few bad apples. One is Georgia District Judge Albert Henderson, a leading candidate for a seat on the Fifth Circuit and, not coincidentally, a favorite of Attorney General Bell. As a District Judge, Henderson has demonstrated an insensitivity on civil rights issues and has been reversed by the Fifth Circuit in a number of key cases. There have also been complaints about the paucity of written opinions by Henderson who, apparently, is so set in his conservative ways that he does not trouble to explain his views.

The Nevada Judgeship. The new Federal District Judge for Nevada will no doubt be called upon to decide cases which affect the livelihood of Nevada's large Indian population who, lacking other avenues of political power, have turned to the courts with increasing frequency in past years to redress grievances, especially over land and water rights. The expected appointee for the slot is Edward Reed, a private attorney whose deportment while representing the state of Nevada in a number of major lawsuits over these claims has earned him a reputation as a leading anti-Indian spokesman. Reed was recommended by a selection commission formed by Nevada Democratic Senator Howard Cannon. Not surprisingly, three of the seven members Cannon named to this panel either represented defendants in one of the same water-rights suits in which Reed was involved or belonged to law firms that did.

Rush to Judgeship Slows. Bell's goal of having 80 percent of the new judges appointed by April 1 is not even going to come close to being met. At the beginning of March, confirmation hearings had been held on only the four new Massachusetts judgeships, with fifteen other nominations awaiting action by the Senate Judiciary Committee. The process is expected to pick up considerably during April and May, but not, it is hoped, at the expense of careful scrutiny of candidates' qualifications.

Will Justice Prevail? In two of our judgeship articles ("Bentsen's Choice," *The Nation*, Feb. 3 and "Bell's Boy," *The Nation*, Feb. 24), we reported on two candidates—Texas State Judge Ted Butler and Georgia lawyer W. Homer Drake—who seemed patently unqualified for the Federal bench. Butler had been sharply reprimanded by the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit for his misuse of a criminal statute while District Attorney to trump up felony charges against a movie theater operator showing *Deep Throat*. Drake, a politically well-connected lawyer, had been brought in by then United Paperworkers International Union president Joseph Tonelli in an unsuccessful attempt to head off an indictment for embezzlement of union funds. Drake himself was investigated by a grand jury for possible obstruction of justice in this incident. While he was not indicted, records show that he was neck-deep in this scandal.

Although the Justice Department only reluctantly acknowledges that Drake's name is "under consideration," Administration sources have said that Drake's name may not go through. Meanwhile, we note that all of Bentsen's ten candidates have been forwarded to the Judiciary Committee for confirmation, except Ted Butler. The Justice Department has apparently O.K.'d Butler, but there is White House concern about possible American Bar Association opposition.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that there have been no outstanding candidates recommended for District judgeships. But, generally speaking, District judge selection had been very uneven, with the procedures used and the ultimate choice of candidates still very dependent on the whims of individual Senators instead of formalized rules.

As of mid-March, the Carter-appointed panels had submitted lists of candidates for twenty-five of the thirty-five new Circuit Court judgeships. There are some glaring omissions in certain of the panels' recommendations, such as the failure in the Fifth Circuit to include Alabama Supreme Court Justice Janie Shores and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission regional attorney Donald Hollowell; the conspicuous absence of N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund president Julius Chambers from the Fourth Circuit list, and the failure of the Second Circuit panel to include Columbia law professor Ruth Bader Ginsburg, one of the nation's foremost constitutional litigators.

Overall, though, the Circuit panels have put forward a good number of top-notch candidates with distinguished records in the cause of equal justice, including: Archibald Cox, the former Watergate Special Prosecutor (First Circuit); Dolores Sloviter, a Temple University Law School professor with special expertise on the rights of the elderly (Third Circuit); North Carolina District Judge James McMillan, whose 1968 landmark decision ending segregation in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg school system gained national attention, and attorney McNeill Smith (Fourth Circuit); District Judges Frank Johnson, William Wayne Justice and Patrick Higginbotham (Fifth Circuit); Wisconsin attorney Richard Cates, a top staff member of the House Judiciary Committee during the Nixon impeachment investigation, and University of Wisconsin professor Frank Remington, an expert in the field of criminal law (Seventh Circuit). It has already been indicated that Carter will appoint Assistant Attorney General Patricia Wald, a former public interest lawyer, and Illinois Democratic Congressman Abner Mikva, one of the most progressive members of the House, to the two new judgeships on the Washington, D.C., Circuit. Connecticut District Judge Jon Newman, an advocate of a strong Federal role in the protection of individual rights and Amalya Kearse, an experienced litigator and one of the first blacks to be named a partner in a Wall Street law firm, are slated for the two new seats on the Second Circuit.

Inclusion on a panel's list, of course, does not necessarily guarantee appointment, since usually four or five names are submitted for each vacancy. This gives the Administration a certain leeway it often does not have in District judge selection, where the Senators continue to control the process, and it appears that Carter is using this leeway to appoint a significant number of minorities and women to the Circuit Court. The discretion, however, also makes appointments extremely vulnerable to various pressures. Archibald Cox, for example, may well be passed over because his age (66) may automatically bring a "disqualified" rating from the American Bar Association. Likewise, James McMillan, the front-runner for one of the new seats on the Fourth Circuit, could still fall victim to the same conservative opposition that prevented his appointment to a vacancy last year.

The relatively high quality of candidates recommended by the Circuit Court panels suggests that these commissions, which are governed by mandatory procedures in contrast to the broad "standards and guidelines" that apply in District judge selection, on the whole did a much more thorough job than their District Court counterparts in recruitment and screening of candidates. The Circuit panels have also been better than the District judge commissions at seeking out minority and women candidates, although both have tended to steer clear of qualified but more controversial individuals. □

Coke

(Continued From Front Cover)

macy has been overblown, the magnitude of Carter's political debt to Austin has not been generally recognized. After an examination of the political relationship between Carter and Coca-Cola going back almost a decade, this much is plain: at the least, the support of Austin and Coke was crucial in Carter's long-range campaign to reach the White House. And it might even be argued that without Coke's assistance Carter would not be in the White House. Whichever is true, Carter's political debt to Coke is enormous for, to paraphrase the current slogan, Coke added life to Carter's political ambition.

To trace the political relationship of Jimmy Carter and J. Paul Austin it is necessary to go back to the gubernatorial primary between former Gov. Carl Sanders and State Senator Carter. It was a rough primary. *Time* magazine, some months later, in a gushy cover piece proclaiming Carter the personification of the New South, wrote: "To get elected, it was necessary to make some gestures toward the past: he opposed busing, visited a private segregated academy and said he would welcome meetings with George Wallace. He also appealed to the ever-potent populist instincts of the state by promising to oppose establishment power brokers and big money interests."

Rather less bland was the characterization of Carter's campaign by local political observers, who termed it "demagogic" and "racist," a "law-and-order" campaign in which Carter found nice things to say about Lester Maddox as well as George Wallace. His campaign was considered a "shocker" because he had until then been regarded as a bright moderate. So he ran a racist-populist campaign against Sanders, who was a creature of the Georgia business commu-

Richard J. Walton is the author of Henry Wallace, Harry Truman and the Cold War *(Viking Press).* *Research for this article was assisted by the Fund for Investigative Journalism.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Author's note: One thing Coca-Cola and Carter certainly have in common is a disinclination to discuss what they have in common. Coke provided the answer to not a single question despite a first-class letter dated January 2, personal visits to the Atlanta headquarters on January 15 and 17 and a certified letter dated February 2. Local reporters in Atlanta informed me that "stonewalling" was a common Coke practice.

As to the Carter Administration, no answers were provided despite a certified letter to Jody Powell dated February 2 and a number of telephone calls to the press office.

nity (of which Coca-Cola has long been the heart, soul and muscle). Coke, like any big business, values calm and stability above almost all things. Turmoil, whether it be in Atlanta or Teheran, is bad for business. Thus, Coca-Cola has long been for accommodation in the South, for that has seemed the only alternative to confrontation.

Carter's anti-establishment crudities could not have appealed much to Austin and the other Coke executives, but as soon as he had won the primary, who should turn up on the contributions list but Austin, $2,500; Charles W. Adams, then senior vice president, $1,000; Ovid Davis, vice president and chief lobbyist, $1,500; Joseph W. Jones, vice president, $1,000 and others. Jones was, and is, personal assistant to Robert Woodruff, the octogenarian who has dominated Coke since his father bought control a half-century ago.

In other words, just a normal exercise in fence-mending. It didn't take long for the fences to mend because Carter was another in the endless list of politicians who attack the establishment not because they despise its values but because it is In and they are Out. For the poor whites who felt betrayed in 1971, just substitute the traditional Democrats who voted for Carter in 1976.

Understanding the close, eventually symbiotic relationship between Carter and Coke requires a brief discussion of how Coca-Cola functions. Indeed, both Carter and Coke seem to function simultaneously on two levels; one lofty, even Platonic, the other unrelentingly practical. Each seems to view itself—and expect so to be viewed—as functioning solely on that higher level. Reading the voluminous Coke literature and visiting its international headquarters in Atlanta, one is struck by the degree to which its executives, even its workers, seem to believe the image on which so many hundreds of millions of dollars have been so expertly lavished over the decades. Coke sees itself as nothing less than *the* symbol of all that's good about America and, now that its profits are increasingly earned abroad, of all that's good the world over.

This notion of Coke's importance is why the company believes—seems genuinely to believe—that what's good for Coke is good for the city, the state, the nation and the world. And that is why Pepsi is the object of such fear and loathing; it is not merely a business competitor but a heretic trying to seize the sanctuary. Thus, by definition, there can be no conflict of interest on the part of the public officials Coke woos with such noblesse oblige that the officials feel honored, like the commoner invited to take tea with the Queen. The officials simply know what their duty is and do it. As Mayor William Hartsfield of Atlanta put it on the last day of his quarter-century in office, "I have never taken an action as Mayor but what I would consider the effect of any national publicity about it on The Coca-Cola Company here in Atlanta and my good friend Bob Woodruff."

Yet even while Coke functions in such rarefied air, it is aware that its principal product is, after all, only overpriced caramel-colored sugar water laced with caffeine, a totally nonessential beverage that is bad for the teeth; consumed in the quantities its advertising promotes, a contributor to obesity and "coffee nerves"—and addictive as well. In short, a product that needs all the friends it can get, for it is vulnerable on so many levels: from environmentalists because of the throwaway containers, from nutritionists for so many reasons, from government for those reasons and many others—foreign trade, the cost of sugar, franchising arrangements, taxation and all the manifold ways that a big corporation is affected by national, state and local governments.

So Coke combines the two functions, its high-mindedness an effective disguise for its intense pursuit of influence at every governmental level. On the opening day of each Georgia legislative session, Coca-Cola takes the House Speaker and the committee chairmen to lunch at the Capital City Club. There's no conflict of interest involved; it's just a nice tradition. A few years ago a black politician, Carl Ware, was elected to the Atlanta City Council. The results were barely in when he was hired for Coke's public relations department. And when, during the Presidential campaign, it was learned that, while he was Governor, Carter had flown on Coca-Cola planes, Coke's chief lobbyist, Ovid Davis, dismissed it by noting that during his thirty-nine years with the company, it had always made its planes available to Georgia's Governors.

Coke's quiet but untiring politicking has gone on for decades. James A. Farley, Democratic National Chairman and Postmaster-General under Franklin D. Roosevelt, was the head of The Coca-Cola Export Company for thirty-five years because of the doors he could open. And Coca-Cola routinely uses law firms known as power brokers. In Atlanta it is King and Spalding (Charles Kirbo's firm), which was a power in Georgia politics long before anyone outside of Plains had ever heard of Jimmy Carter. In the words of Calvin Trillin of *The New Yorker* and *The Nation*, its most important task is "to keep the world safe for Coca-Cola." Coke may feel a bit more secure with Kirbo as Carter's most trusted private adviser, with partner Griffin Bell as Attorney General and partner Jack Watson as one of Carter's top White House aides.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In New York, Coke uses Simpson, Thacher and Bartlett, the powerhouse firm of the Whitney North Seymours Sr. and Jr.—and of Cyrus Vance. Also in New York, the firm of the Weisls, father and son; they were known as Lyndon Johnson's men in New York State. When J. Paul Austin was in Washington to testify before a Senate subcommittee and trying to accentuate the positive after Coke's Minute Maid subsidiary was caught treating its migrant workers badly, who was at his side but lawyer-lobbyist Joseph Califano of the firm of Williams, Connolly and Califano, the first-named being Edward Bennett Williams, treasurer of the Democratic Party?

With this in mind, let us return to 1971 and the newly elected Governor of Georgia. As Christopher Lydon reported in *The Atlantic Monthly*, one of Carter's early acts was to call David Rockefeller and say he wanted to meet some bankers. Populist he may have pretended to be, but he recognized that money was power. Here was the beginning of the transformation of the rural populist into the crypto-Republican. And who was better placed to help in that transformation than J. Paul Austin and Coca-Cola? They would become Carter's entrée into the world of Wall Street-Sunbelt money. There were few doors in that world to which Jimmy Carter aspired that could not be opened by a word from Austin, a director of Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, General Electric Company, Dow Jones & Company and a member of the very highest circles of American finance.

There is no way of knowing whether Austin discerned Carter's enormous ambition. He may at first have just been helping the Governor of Georgia in routine fashion. But somewhere along the way, perhaps after one of the prayer breakfasts Austin conducted at the Governor's mansion, Carter told him he was going to run for President. As Austin has said privately to friends, he told Carter "he was crazy." Carter persisted, however, and Austin said he would do what he could. He did promote Carter's cause, only to be told in turn by his business and social friends that "Carter was crazy." These friends later invoked Austin's help to clamber aboard the bandwagon when it began to pick up speed. Austin enabled Carter to use Coke's worldwide operations as his private State Department. When he traveled to Europe and Japan, Coke cars picked him up at airports and, more important, appointments were set up with political figures he could never have reached on his own.

Then there is the matter of the Trilateral Commission. No reader will by now be surprised to learn that Austin was, and is, a member. A lot of bunk has been written about the Commission because sixteen or seventeen top Administration officials, including the Vice President, the Secretaries of State, Defense and Treasury and Zbigniew Brzezinski, were members. It is easy to regard the Commission as a sinister cabal manipulating a naive President. That's nonsense. Carter is one of the least naive men on earth, and those people would be running the country whether or not they were Trilateralists, for that's just the new label for what used to be called "the foreign policy crowd."

No, what's important about the Trilateral Commission is not how it has taken advantage of Carter but how he took advantage of it. It marked him an Important Man, a mover and shaker. It gave him access to important people. It allowed him to speak knowledgeably about foreign affairs. It, in short, put him in the big leagues, which is indispensable to a credible race for a Presidential nomination.

When Carter's term as Governor expired in January 1975, Austin could have found a graceful way to drop him, but he didn't. In March, Coke's Political Action Committee, the Nonpartisan Committee for Good Government, to which just about every senior officer of Coke and its subsidiaries contributed, gave Carter $3,000. That's not a great deal of money, and Coke was clearly hedging its bets by giving (later) $5,000 to President Ford and substantial amounts to the early trial-balloon candidacies of Senators Robert Byrd and Lloyd Bentsen Jr. (a particular favorite), to Senator Henry Jackson and even to Congressman Morris Udall to help pay off his campaign debts. Even a couple of contributions to Edward Kennedy's Senatorial campaign.

But although $3,000 (another $1,000 was contributed in January 1976) was not a lot of money, it came at a time when few were taking Carter's campaign seriously and at a time when Carter was desperate for cash (as suggested by the current investigations into whether he improperly used business loans for campaign purposes). In any case, it was more than Coke gave to any other Democrat. More important, Austin continued his missionary work with the big business community so important to Carter.

While Carter was posing as an anti-establishment figure, Austin and Charles Kirbo and Bert Lance and others were quietly informing the businessmen not to pay any attention to that campaign rhetoric, assuring them that he would do as President what he had done as Governor. Also, businessmen could make important financial contributions to the primary campaign. Although huge contributions were no longer possible because of the $1,000 limitation, Carter did need a good many substantial contributions because he was not getting a lot of small ones. Although running as a populist, Carter received about 40 percent of his campaign contributions in the $500 to $1,000 category (Jackson, 41 percent) whereas Udall received only 12 percent in the upper bracket. In the general election both Ford and Carter chose Federal financing rather than seek private funds.

Any doubt that Carter was Coke's candidate is dissipated by a couple of days' research in the records of the Federal Election Commission in Washington. This was not an exhaustive search, for although all contributions can be identified given enough time, only those between $500 and $1,000 are listed in an accessible index. All contributions of less than $500 (even if they totaled more than $500) were not in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cluded in the index. Of Coca-Cola's top executives, the following made individual contributions of $500 or more: Charles W. Adams, executive vice president, $750; J. Paul Austin, chairman, $500; Ovid Davis, vice president and chief lobbyist, $500; Joseph W. Jones, vice president and assistant treasurer, $650; Fred S. Perrin, secretary, $750; J.L. Smith, president, $600; C.M. Halle, president, Coca-Cola Export Company, $500, and Donald R. Keough, senior vice president, $1,000. That is most of the top hierarchy.

Turning to the Coke board of directors, ten of the twenty made individual contributions of $500 or more: Austin, Halle and Smith (listed as executives), plus T.H. Choate of New York, $500; W.A. Coolidge of Cambridge, Mass., $500; Charles W. Duncan of Houston (now Deputy Secretary of Defense), $900; Lindsey Hopkins of Miami, $500; James D. Robinson of New York (American Express chairman), $900; D.A. Turner of Columbus, Ga., $1,000, and G.W. Woodruff, brother of Robert Woodruff, $500.

We turn now to the Trust Company of Georgia, Coca-Cola's local bank (Morgan Guaranty is its leading national bank) and, as holder of $360 million in Coke shares, the second largest holding, all but indistinguishable from Coke itself. Ernest Woodruff, father of Robert and George, was president of the Trust Company when in 1923 he headed the consortium that purchased Coke. The bank, like Coke, has King and Spalding as its law firm. Contributors were A.H. Sterne, chairman and president, $500; Bradley Currey Jr., executive vice president, $500; plus Austin and Robinson, also of the Coke board, and six other members of the bank's board: R.H. Dobbs Jr., $800; D.G. Garrett Jr., $500; J.L. Lanier Jr., $500; Wilton Looney, $1,000; A.L. Montgomery, the Coke bottler in Atlanta, $1,000; R.W. Scherer, $500. As with the above lists, further contributions were made by obvious relatives.

Usually Austin's efforts on behalf of Carter took place well behind the scenes, but one endeavor became known when Austin, Henry Ford and Edgar Bronfman of Seagram Distillers Company arranged a luncheon at the New York restaurant "21" in July 1976 so that Carter could meet fifty prominent businessmen. Much has been made of the fact that the Federal Election Commission ruled the luncheon improper and imposed a $500 civil fine against Coke's Political Action Committee. But there is no reason to question Coke's belief that the luncheon was a proper PAC function; it was a matter of interpreting the regulations. What *is* significant was Carter's eagerness to convince businessmen that his Administration would not be hostile, which was, as events have demonstrated, something of an understatement. It seems beyond dispute that Coca-Cola in general and Austin in particular have been instrumental in establishing Carter's connections with big business.

Then toward the end of the campaign, when it appeared Carter's big lead had all but slipped away, he decided he urgently needed help in making commercials for the last weeks. He turned, as *Southern Exposure* reported in its Spring 1977 issue, to Tony Schwartz, an independent contractor in New York who was highly valued by the McCann-Erickson advertising agency for his effective image-making on Coke commercials. His specialty, as demonstrated in the cases of both Coke and Carter, was to project, with little or no reference to the substance of the product, a winning image.

Thus, over and over again at crucial moments, Coke provided assistance in Carter's march to the White House. There is no one else outside his inner circle who holds so big a political I.O.U. The question is: what good does all this do Coke? There are those in Atlanta, in Washington and on Wall Street who dismiss as fanciful (or accept as perfectly normal) the notion that Coca-Cola gets any real advantages beyond some sort of general idea that Coke and Carter are friendly. They assert that Carter is not the kind of man anyone ought to try to influence.

But that's knocking down straw men. No one is suggesting that Austin is an old-fashioned paving con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tractor handing a bag of money to a Boss Tweed Carter. What does exist is an Austin who has an access to the President that he will be careful not to abuse and a President with a sympathetic ear. The fact that everyone in Washington—and thus in every political and economic power center in the world—knows that to be the case is an enormous competitive advantage. Any bureaucrat in the executive branch, any concerned businessman here or abroad, any official here or abroad concerned with foreign trade is aware of the Carter-Coke connection. Neither Carter nor Coke has to proclaim it, although Coke functionaries would be less than human if they did not make use of it, presumably with more discretion than John Mount, a company vice president who was quoted last year as saying Coca-Cola would have to call in some of its political markers and have the President veto a sugar bill Coke was opposing. But the matter was not resolved in the last session and it will be interesting to see what happens this year when sugar legislation again comes before Congress.

There are many ways for the Coke-Carter connection to be made known. When Austin has a private meeting with Anwar el-Sadat or Fidel Castro and then makes a private report to the President, foreign chancelleries get the message. When the Japanese bottlers of Coca-Cola and The Coca-Cola Company sponsor an exhibit of antique masks and robes and it not only is displayed in the National Gallery of Art but is attended by Rosalynn and Jimmy Carter, Tokyo isn't the only city in the Orient that catches on. And even the nice diplomatic gesture of inviting Pepsico chairman Donald Kendall as well as Austin to the White House dinner for Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping does not redress the balance.

Also, it was perfectly plain to observers of the soft drink competition abroad that Coke was playing "catch-up ball," to use the words of one former employee, until Carter was elected. Even though Coke was bigger and richer, it was reacting to Pepsi, instead of taking the initiative itself. But all that changed when Carter was elected. Coke was quickly chosen to be the soft drink of the 1980 Olympics in Moscow, a significant entering wedge for pushing Pepsi aside when its exclusive contract (other than for the Olympics) expires in 1984. And Coke's Fanta brand orange soda is now being introduced into the Soviet Union. One feels safe in suggesting that the 1980 election returns will weigh more heavily in the Kremlin than Coke's, or Pepsi's, negotiating prowess or, certainly, more than the difference in taste between the two caramel-colored carbonated sugar waters.

In the matter of the China deal, Coke's response is that it was the coincidental culmination of ten years of negotiations. Believing in the tooth fairy is easier. For however long the negotiations were underway, they were successfully concluded at just the moment Carter was about to deliver something, rather more important, that China had been seeking for longer than ten years. Had Nixon concluded the diplomatic deal is there anyone who doubts that Pepsi would now be gloating instead of Coke? Besides, Coke had not been negotiating with China for ten years if a Coke executive speaking in November 1977 is to be believed. A group of Coke executives headed by Austin that month made a rare presentation before Wall Street security analysts. During the presentation, Corey R. Smith, assistant treasurer, said, as *The Wall Street Journal* reported, that "while personal contact has been made with Chinese officials, negotiations aren't underway for the sale of Coca-Cola in China." But he said the company has "long-term aspirations."

Where else can the Carter connection be expected to pay off? Probably in Egypt fairly soon. A year or so ago Coca-Cola was confident that Sadat's influence would get the company off the Moslem blacklist throughout the Middle East, but with Sadat's influence reduced, Coke may have to settle for just Egypt. Even that is a huge, and thirsty, market where Pepsi has been dominant for a decade.

Coke would also like to get back into Cuba, and Austin has served as a private intermediary between Castro and Carter. Not only would Cuba be a lucrative market but if Coke could manufacture in Cuba where sugar is cheap and plentiful, that would give it an enormous competitive advantage. And Cuban rum would no doubt find a ready market in the United States, just as Pepsi has sold Russian vodka.

In Japan, one of Coca-Cola's most lucrative markets, where it is trying, successfully, to fend off determined efforts by Pepsi, it surely did no harm to have the smiling Carters, Austin at their side, photographed at the National Gallery exhibit sponsored by Coke and its Japanese bottlers.

And in Portugal, where Coca-Cola had been banned for many years, it was readmitted shortly before December 31, 1976, the date that the Treasury Department approved a $300 million loan Portugal desperately needed. It has been widely suggested in the press that there was a quid pro quo, but neither Coke nor the Carter Administration will discuss it. It is known, however, that the Portuguese Government was in touch with the Carter transition team before the 1976 inauguration. Who headed the transition team? Jack Watson of the Coke law firm, King and Spalding. Another coincidence? Neither Coke nor Carter's press office will say, just as neither will discuss reports that on one of his trips to New York, Carter slipped quietly into the offices of McCann-Erickson, Coca-Cola's longtime ad agency, to talk with Coke officials.

Another interesting intersection of Carter and Coca-Cola is Charles W. Duncan, Deputy Secretary of Defense—and not just because Carter permitted Duncan, a former president of Coke, to retain 170,000 shares of stock (about $7 million worth) in an exception to the conflict-of-interest standards he established for his appointees. Duncan is another Coca-Cola avenue to big money. When he left Coke,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

esumably after losing to Austin in the competition top man, he returned to Houston as the head of tan-Mosle, a big stock brokerage and investment use. It has strong ties to financial power in the uthwest and Wall Street and to political power as ll. Lloyd Bentsen 3d (another generation of Bentns) is a vice president of the firm, and Duncan is on e board of Texas Commerce Bank Shares, a huge lding company whose leading bank is Texas Comerce Bank. On *its* board are a Mrs. L.B. Johnson d Allen Shivers, former Governor of Texas.

Duncan's brother, John, a partner in Duncan Foods, which became the food division of Coca-Cola, is a founder and large shareholder in the immense Gulf and Western nglomerate. Among G.&W.'s important holdings e sugar plantations and a refinery in the minican Republic. Coke is perhaps the world's rgest individual purchaser of sugar and neither ke nor G.&W. is keen on high sugar import duties. Sugar is enormously important to Coca-Cola. Needss to say, its lobbyists are busy on Capitol Hill. The rter Administration has been loudly accused by me participants in the conflict, and by some obrvers, of backing Coca-Cola's interests. Senator ussell Long, hardly a disinterested observer since he presents Louisiana sugar growers who are deanding higher prices, dubbed the legislation backed Carter last fall "the Coca-Cola bill."

But it is an immensely complicated issue and Carr and the consumer share a common interest with oca-Cola in keeping sugar prices as low as possible. here are, however, different ways of dealing with ie matter. Coke prefers direct subsidies to domestic igar growers and/or price supports. These spread ie costs among all taxpayers, whereas high import ities (which bring money into the Treasury while ie other methods subtract) concentrate the costs on ie purchasers. Even though the costs would eventuly be passed along to the consumer, these higher sts could adversely affect Coke's sales as they did in 974, when sugar prices soared.

Administration policy can also help or hurt Cocaola when it is embroiled with such regulatory bodies s the Food and Drug Administration and the Fedral Trade Commission. The chairmen of both, Donld Kennedy of the F.D.A. and Michael Pertschuk of ie F.T.C., are too protective of their independence to e influenced by anyone, even the President. But if oke loses before these bodies, it can then appeal to ongress for legislation serving its interests, as it did uccessfully when the F.D.A. decided to ban the use f saccharin in diet soft drinks.

The success of this campaign demonstrates that oca-Cola has more political clout than even a $4 bilon corporation with friends in the White House, the tate Department, the Justice Department and the epartment of Health, Education and Welfare. Cocaola itself does relatively little bottling. Most of the soft drinks are sold by the 600 or so independent bottlers operating under exclusive franchises from the parent company. Each of these companies is a substantial firm in its own right, a multimillion dollar operation with considerable economic, and thus political, power in its own area. In matters of common interest—like the price of sugar, bottle bills, Government regulation and, not least, the practice of operating under exclusive franchises—when Coke *and* its bottlers throw their common weight, they exert enormous influence in Washington directly and indirectly through locally elected officials.

The matter of Coke's exclusive franchises has been before the F.T.C. for nearly a decade of costly legal conflict. The F.T.C. believes there should be competition among Coke bottlers in overlapping territories, whereas Coke and the bottlers are fighting desperately to preserve a practice dating back to the company's earliest years. If Coke finally loses before the F.T.C., chairman Pertschuk expects that the company will take the matter to Congress in an attempt to circumvent the F.T.C. ruling. On all these matters, the Carter Administration's position before Congressional committees could be crucial.

These interlocking networks of big business, big money and big law firms constitute a profoundly undemocratic system so deeply entrenched that it is probably invulnerable to outside intervention. Especially when the only force strong enough even to try, the Federal Government, has long been co-opted because the men (hardly any women are involved) who run both are essentially the same men with the same values and the same ambitions.

The irony is that the man presiding over all this calls himself a Democrat and ran against the establishment as a populist. And if Jimmy Carter switched overnight from Coke to Pepsi, it would make absolutely no real difference. Coke might earn a little less and Pepsi a little more, but the system itself would be unchanged. But that's another, and bigger, story. This is merely an account of why things have gone better with Coke. □

NATION ESSAY

America Amok

PHILIP GREEN

In an era when the belief that individual and collective selfishness are the highest form of morality appears to be pandemic, the honorable notion of "rights" is in danger of declining to an ignoble status, so multifold is the assault upon our sensibilities of everyone's "right" to do what they damn well please without giving a fig for anyone else's needs or concerns.

A local restaurateur, incensed at proposals to en-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

force a "public places" antismoking ordinance, says angrily that "I got a *right* to do what I want"; we are waiting for him to start a regular regime of spitting on the floor in furtherance of his "rights." Dog owners everywhere are in a rage over attempted or theoretical deprivation of their "rights" (or their dogs' rights?) to surround their neighbors with a barricade of excrement. In a fantasy, at some imaginary town meeting, I inform them that from now on our family is going to deposit its human waste on their doorsteps every morning; the fantasy never extends to their reply, a failure of the sympathetic imagination, no doubt.

The bizarre is typical. Americans flock to religious or quasi-religious gurus who, though behaviorally indistinguishable from high-class swindlers, defy all efforts to investigate and control their spiraling financial empires, or their propensity to increase group loyalty by treating their communicants like slaves, in the burlesqued accents of "religious liberty." Not to be outdone by anyone, a Representative from Oklahoma, presumably a servant of the public good, tells delegates to the Conservative Political Action Commission that he has driven to the Washington meeting alone, down the carpool lanes, and has also "ignored the 55-mile-an-hour limit as I always do"—to this virulently mean-spirited revelation of a determination to spread visible and expensive pollution to the farthest horizon possible in pursuit of mere personal convenience, the delegates, according to *The New York Times*, responded with "applause." But why not? They only follow the example of the stonewalling auto industry, which for years has done its best to send the nation down a drain greased with petroleum, in the name of no cause more exigent than *their* "right" to despoil society without having to put up with any "interference" from it.

Big business, we like to think, must be the worst offender, but you can never hit rock bottom. As I write this, there is a scandal brewing at an eastern state university: male homosexuals are alleged to have taken over one of the university's washrooms, and are said to be subjecting wandering "straights" to unpleasant sexual harassment. A straightforward enough situation, we think: if the facts are established as alleged, then there can be nothing further to say or do except make sure that it never happens again. But no: the local countercultural weeklies are deluged with comments about the "right" (the *right*?) of everyone to have "their own space" to "do their own thing"; that the "space" has been paid for by and is meant to serve all residents of the Commonwealth equally is apparently of no matter. We hope that this is the ultimate parody of terminal ethnic separatism; but realistically we know that some reincarnation of Michael Novak will soon be along to tell us that beautiful Slavs have a perfect moral right to despise WASPs and hate blacks.

Philip Green, a member of The Nation*'s Editorial Board, teaches political science at Smith College.*

At one level we can follow Christopher Lasch an others in chalking all this up to "The New Narci sism." But that too easily lets us think we're dealin merely with zany behavior—even though the numbe of people engaging in it remains frightening to co template. What is worse, though, is that serious o gans of thought and opinion, not to mention th omnivorously unprincipled mass media, take soci solipsism seriously at the level of intellect.

Thus the editor of *Inquiry*, a new player on the i tellectual stage which is supposed to combine lef right and perhaps center in an innovative synthesi opposes national health insurance on the familia ground that "we" know how to spend "our" money be ter than "government" does; and he replies to an i quisitive reader that he can't think of a single way i which "bureaucracy" has helped us obtain the mear to a good life. Can such nonsense be uttered inn cently? Surely, like me, he wouldn't have the fainte idea how to spend his money on public health, o penal institutions, or mental hospitals, or national de fense, or the construction of dams, or the provision o mass transport; is this any more than a devious way o declining to spend his own money on public good which he already uses and benefits from? Nor doe the absurdity of that assertion apply only to publi goods. I, like most middle- (and low-) income peopl would not have the faintest idea how to go about allo cating my present income for only vaguely discerne future needs—which is precisely why the citizens o every industrial society find the whole "bureaucratic apparatus of social security, unemployment insu ance, workmen's compensation, etc., so invaluable part of "the good life." Would he abolish them? Has h never had an elderly relative saved from a remainin lifetime of debt by Medicare? Does he think that th virtually perfect safety record of West German mine has nothing to do with stringent mine safety legisla tion? That American workers were better off befor the institution of the National Labor Relation Board? Does he happily contemplate the mass slaugh ter that will ensue if industries are given free rein t poison their employees and neighbors with asbesto dust, kepone, radioactivity, or whatever else they' find it profitable to strew where they see fit?

Again, though, who can blame him? After all, th egregious Milton Friedman can be awarded a Nobe Prize after announcing on BBC-TV that the British who compared to Americans engage in a wider rang by far of political debate and fearless intellectual dis course, are "less free" than Americans because thei government takes a bigger tax bite. And a book lik Robert Nozick's *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, a philo sophical treatise whose elegance can't conceal th childlike cry of "let me alone" that underlies it, i nominated for the National Book Award, and Nozic written up as a serious political commentator in *Th New York Times Magazine*.

But, then, millions of what ought to be intelligent men and women seem, like Nozick, to think that it is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tellectually coherent to oppose efforts at the redis-ibution of income and power by saying that "indi-duals have rights, and there are things no person or oup may do to them (without violating their ghts)." Surely, again, it is obvious that we can have *inviolable* rights to use our possessions and liber-es as we will. We indeed make some claims of right at are more crucial than others—that is, claims of nscience, or claims to fundamental civil liberties ch as freedom of speech, and fundamental civil ghts such as equal protection of the laws. But these ghts claims are distinguishable from the Nozick-riedman variety precisely by the fact that they ap-al to the preservation of a *common* good, to the forcement of a *common* standard of citizenship, or s in the case of conscientious objection) to our sense at it is wrong to injure *others*, rather than to our in-ividual egoisms and power lusts. (One looks in vain rough the works of Friedman and Nozick for any efense of these rights of citizenship and conscience.) any event, clearly, no "right" can be recognized ast the point where it is used to justify actual imposi-ons on the well-being of other members of the com-unity or, generally, whenever the claim to have it mes into conflict with someone else's claim to meet me other compelling need. If I want to have and old inviolable rights, I will find them only in a ermitage.

Can all the self-styled libertarians, opponents of Big Government" and the like really be unaware at merely individual rights, unrestrained by de-ned limits, common moralities and rules of justice, re nothing more than rationalizations for the right f the strong and well-possessed, and the subordina-on of the weak and propertyless? We expect busi-essmen routinely to lie to us about the real balance of ower in society; they know that when the assertion of ndividual rights replaces community reasoning bout the limits of behavior, it is might and might lone that "makes right." Can their intellectual front-en really be unaware of that? One remembers that Nozick's book, when it first came out, was being vidly read in the Nixon White House, and some ound it paradoxical that a "libertarian" tract should ppeal to the most oppressive, authoritarian regime n American history. But there's no paradox in that: Haldeman, et al., must have understood perfectly vell that tyranny of the powerful and propertied is al-vays the result of laissez-faire.

True enough, such forebears of the American intel-ectual heritage as Locke, Jefferson and Adam Smith lefended the right to "property," or "estate," or "the pursuit of happiness." But by that they meant no nore than the right to amass a reasonable amount of vorldly goods without injuring anyone else's ability o do the same. Civilized gentlemen all (too much so, no doubt), they would have been aghast at the antiso-ial claims that are nowadays routinely made in the ame of "individual rights"; and they would have agged on the notion that international corporations

Vpro

DUTCH TELEVISION SPONSORS OPEN FORUM

Susan Sontag
I.F. Stone
Gus Hal
Michael Harrington
Peter Camejo and
Henry Foner

will discuss the classic question:

"WHY HAS SOCIALISM BEEN UNABLE TO GROW IMPORTANT IN THE U.S.?"

The panelists will also offer their insights into the present status of U.S. socialism and speculate about its prospects. The eminent historian **Henry Steele Commager** (Amherst College) will introduce the subject and moderate the discussion. At some point the audience will be invited to participate.

Saturday, March 31
2:30 p.m.
Auditorium, Cooper Union
3rd Ave. at 7th Street
New York
Free admission

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with budgets and armed forces often larger than those of many sovereign nations could claim "rights" to coerce workers, despoil environments or dominate conditions of trade, at will. It was Locke, after all, who wrote that by "individual consent" he meant "*the consent of the majority* given either by themselves or through their representatives"; and it was Adam Smith who said that "whenever the legislature attempts to regulate the differences between masters and their workmen, its counsellers [*sic*] are always the masters."

Recent contributors to *The Nation* have remarked that the American left, even if it incurs short-run costs, must maintain its historic position on such issues as militarism and the war of business against organized labor. I think that that is true in the philosophical sphere as well.

In the short run, it might appear politically suicidal to oppose what seems like the wave of the near future; but that is a short-sighted conclusion. As such diverse political thinkers as Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Rousseau and even John Locke understood in their different ways, a society lacking some general agreement that the common good precedes individual good is going to decay and decline. Somewhere, somehow, governance always does and always must take place, and it must be governance at a level consonant with the technological and social complexities of the time. Beyond the ideological posturings of a Milton Friedman, and the vagaries of group behavior run amok, lie only two possible resolutions: a corporate police state on the one hand (the logical outcome of deferring to the power of big business), or a recapture of the egalitarian, democratic spirit on the other. Certainly "Big Government," when the creature of corporate and special interests, unresponsible political parties and a privatized morality, is often, even generally, obnoxious. But the road to an equal possession of democratic authority by all citizens lies nowhere but through the institutions of government.

Of course, whenever a genuine public purpose, or redress of inequalities, can be achieved by the voluntary activities of small-scale, nonexclusivist communities, that is preferable to a reliance on centralized government: but the latter can only be forsworn in particular cases, not as a matter of principle. In the long run, the left has everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by standing firm. Where antisocial behavior is due to an excess of powerlessness it should, when possible, be criticized with sympathetic understanding; where it is due to an excess of power, with unremitting hostility. But in either case, we should not relent in opposition to the principles and practice of the new individualism; to the absurd notion that individual or group egoism can ever have precedence over a respect for the common good, a sense of public obligation, or the demand for social justice. □

Part two of Philip Green's essay will appear next week.

"Paul Cowan hears America singing...

His journalism reflects Walt Whitman's vision of the country. He conveys a unique, refreshing view of the nation he knows so well."
—STUDS TERKEL
"He listens to all sides, plumbs their situation and portrays them as full-featured human beings...coal miners and long-haul truckers...the whites of South Boston and the blacks of Columbia Point...the Hasidim and 'Jews without money' of Manhattan's Lower East Side...the 'hillers' and 'creekers' involved in the schoolbook controversy in West Virginia..."—JAMES FALLOWS, N.Y. Times Book Review
"Like James Agee in the '30s, Paul Cowan in the 1970s has traveled through America, getting past the stereotypes of ordinary people and into their real lives."
—ROBERT COLES
"A sympathetic look at some of the ugliest moments of our recent history. As we look into the lives of Cowan's 'tribesmen' we begin to learn what holds us together and, alas, what keeps us apart."
—FRED FRIENDLY
"Revealing detail...into the most perplexing issues of our national life."
—J. ANTHONY LUKAS
"Absorbing reading. There is little else that I have read recently that has taught me more about America in the Seventies."—JOSEPH LASH
THE TRIBES OF AMERICA
$10.95 at all booksellers
DOUBLEDAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

On Emerson's Shoulders

EARL ROVIT

REPRESENTATIVE MAN: Ralph Waldo Emerson in His Time. *By Joel Porte. Oxford University Press. 361 pp. $15.95.*

The appearance of Joel Porte's *Representative Man: Ralph Waldo Emerson in His Time* is an apt reminder of the cardinal importance that Emerson possesses for American culture. It is also a chastening example of the curious fact that although the challenge to understand Emerson is obligatory for the student of American culture, it is a challenge that cannot be wholly met. Over the years some of our finest intelligences—philosophers, poets, novelists, scholars—have blithely set out to draw Emerson's measure (a truncated list would include Lowell, Holmes, William and Henry James, Santayana, Frost, Dewey). The results have tended to be either idealized self-portraits, renderings in special pleading or sketches which recede frustratedly into vagueness and enigma. They do little more than signal the ineffable presence of something "Emersonian" without being able to define it. Porte's examination—a kind of "inside narrative" of Emerson's intellectual life—is a product of careful and sympathetic reading, and it is worth adding to complementary studies like those of Sherman Paul, Stephen Whicher, Vivian Hopkins and Jonathan Bishop. But even as the Emersonian spirit suffuses Porte's book, it just as clearly evades it. And this evasion suggests something wonderfully significant about the role Emerson plays in the American mind.

So far as I can judge, Emerson's centrality in the currency and recurrency of our national life is a unique incident in the habit of cultures. Dante, Goethe and Pushkin, for example, are quintessential representatives of their respective cultures as well as dominant moral and stylistic influences upon them. But each of these poets is the master of a voice and vision that exist apart from themselves, as well as from the convulsive quiver of their contemporary histories. Such a discrete separation can't be practiced on Emerson. His works have precisely the same distance from himself as Hamlet's soliloquies have from Hamlet, and Emerson's gropings to shape the chaotic ephemerality of events are evident in every attempt that the American consciousness has made to define its existence. Were one not properly disdainful of hyperbole, we might reverse Perry Miller's formula and find Emerson guilty of influencing Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin and probably Adams and Jefferson as well! The American experience has been—inevitably—a pragmatic, open-ended, ultimately hopeful enterprise. If only because of the intractable materialism of the obstacles with which it has been beset, it has also been an unashamedly idealistic venture—a truth not always grasped by its critics and victims. It is small wonder then that the American poet who discovered how to make a hopeful poem that would be honest to his lonely, failure-ridden efforts to build a habitable life for himself should, in so doing, speak for an entire fragmented people striving to create a habitable nation.

In other words, American culture can no more avoid or define Emerson than a mind can avoid or define its own self-consciousness. Emerson codified the rules of our national game, as it were—the game we had been playing for more than 100 years before he came on the scene, and the game we have been playing since. More eloquently, more comprehensively, and more scrupulously than anyone else, and in our most intimately formal language, he propounded the operative definitions of what we are, of what we might dream ourselves to be, of what we must hold ourselves responsible for, and what we could with impunity ignore. Like one of the well-worn tropes in his deliberate rhetoric, he was our Adam. And he named each of us by that name also and enjoined us to redeem our irretrievable innocence, persuading us in intermittent flashes of ecstatic authority that being and doing are not mutually exclusive; that man can be both fully responsive and responsible at the same time; and that there burns a steady morality beyond mere badness and goodness that makes the distant stars blaze and invests the winter apple with its russet glow.

The triumphant clarity of Emerson's voice was doubtless rooted in the impenetrable agonies of his own struggles to survive a life of desperate loneliness, but that fact simply validates the success and relevance of his procedures. He demonstrates the thrilling truth that expression can make experience real—anyone's experience—and its realization, in turn, provides a tolerable habitation or pause for the restless human spirit. So powerful was the clarion of Emerson's enunciation and so well did he know the deepest needs of his audience that his concerns became *the* American concern.

The truth of the matter is that it is virtually impossible to be "American" without also being Emersonian. We usually point to his more easily distinguishable disciples—to Thoreau, Whitman, William James, Dewey, Frank Lloyd Wright, Buckminster Fuller—as though an Emersonian school exists. It seems to me, however, that *any* characteristic American gesture—intellectual, political, aesthetic—cannot but be Emersonian. I used to ask my students with malice aforethought, who is more Emersonian—Ahab or Ishmael? A pretty question to conjure with because he who was so much the master of dialectics lives with equal potency on the opposing sides of his own irreconcilable conflicts. In fact, as one surveys the gallery of major characters in American fiction from Roderick Usher to Jay Gatsby, the only important figure who seems impervious to the Emersonian influence is Melville's Captain Vere. What the others share—and is this not their Emersonianism?—is that they are in process; they are moving, building, changing. Their personalities are deliberately subject to an experiential pressure which they innocently believe will push them ever so fractionally closer to whatever unattainable goal their hearts are set on. Unlike them, Captain Vere is a testament to or of limitation; metaphorically he occupies a formal closure and his behavior is fixed outside of the relevance of any new experience. He is poignantly responsive to the personal suffering which Billy Budd's situation imposes upon him, but he must be responsible to a different dimension of principle than the merely personal. Perhaps the only truly magisterial figure in American literature, he is also the least representative of the inchoate needs of the culture.

And lest I seem overparochial in my muster of evidence, let me suggest that the mystic fortunes of the great American Presidents suggest a similar con-

Earl Rovit is a novelist who teaches at the City College of New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clusion. Lincoln, pre-eminently, but also Jefferson, Wilson until he went to Versailles, and Franklin Roosevelt have been popularly subsumed under the Emersonian image. Constantly charged by their opponents with opportunism, Machiavellianism, and power-lust, they have been generally able to transform these charges into the virtues of a supple pragmatic idealism. They have more frequently than not been cherished as leaders who have been unafraid to venture into the dangerous unknown, bowing flexibly to the shape of the future in order to sustain the ideal of the past. Washington alone has been our Captain Vere and Washington has always remained stiff and unassimilable in the popular mind.

It is surely one of the oddest peculiarities about American culture that if we do, in fact, possess anything of a national epic at all, it is found neither in narrative tale nor drama but in a handful of essays which seem superficially close to sermons, lectures, Pollyannaish tracts of moral exhortation. Where traditional cultures can find exhilarating emblems of their national ideals in a concrete epic dramaturgy, the American spirit is most genuinely reflected in sequences of expository paragraphs, loosely connected by the personal ardor of their author rather than by logic. They are ultimately energized not by a severe search for truth or beauty—although they pay substantial lip service to both—but by a profound and unacknowledged commitment to moral fervor and the concomitant belief that morality is a form of power that will move more mountains in a day than faith could move in an eternity. The not inconsiderable strengths of our culture stem partly from our acceptance of this beleaguered passion. Our willingness to experiment, our inclination to let the past lie dead and to refuse to be romanced by a programmed future—this has characteristically liberated for us the domain of the present for our dominion. From this, and the incomparable material advantages we have enjoyed, have flowed the expanded opportunities for a burgeoning population, and a casual generosity of spirit. Our weaknesses, of course, derive from the same sources. We can be overweeningly obsessed with process per se; our vaunted self-reliance can turn to self-righteousness and imperialism; we easily forget that our material conquests are only temporary.

But returning to Emerson—reading him again—draws us back to the real drama of the American experience. We cannot stand aloof from his words; he will not permit us the luxury of detached distance. Again and again we are implicated, magnetized, drawn into a tight circle of personal decision. What he presents us with is the excitement of a man in the very process of thought. He offers little advice or guidance on how we should act or in what way we should respond; he only insists that we must act and we must respond and he makes us believe that to feel less than a superabundance of the electric moment is to be unworthy of it or ourselves. His thought is eventually unimportant; the act of thinking which he assaults us with and makes us strive to emulate—this is essential. Struggling to do justice to our encounter with him, we may—if we are lucky enough—gain a small purchase on ourselves. It is this act of appropriation that is his major gift to us and our culture. □

At Jefferson's Feet

RICHARD RABINOWITZ

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. *By Morton White. Oxford University Press. 300 pp. $15.95.*

INVENTING AMERICA: JEFFERSON'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. *By Garry Wills. Doubleday & Company. 398 pp. $10.*

When in the course of our Bicentennial celebrations of American Independence the ringing tones and courageous deeds of our Revolutionary forebears were appropriated for the basest sorts of commercial and political manipulation, it was necessary for scholars to do something. These two scholars, in particular, labored carefully and well to push the American Revolution (and especially its political philosophy) far into the historical distance. They have taken the Declaration of Independence away from our nasty temptations to despoil it with relevance. Wielding the weapons, each of them, of a historian/lock-picker or a philosopher/nit-picker, they have routed anachronism. Their Declaration may be a little unfamiliar to us at first, but it is more fascinating than the one we have known.

Richard Rabinowitz lives in Boston and writes on American culture.

For Garry Wills, the 18th-centur Declaration is "written in the lost lar guage of the Enlightenment: It is dar *with unexamined lights.*" *Furthermor* what light we usually shed on the Dec laration comes from the false phospho rescence of Lincoln's Gettysburg Ac dress, where our "principal politica stylist" succeeded in "recontracting . . our society on the basis of the Declara tion as our fundamental charter."

Whatever its political and literar genius, Lincoln's reinterpretation ha misled us about Jefferson's handiwor And the way to recover a true sight o that is to wrench ourselves from th present and look upon Jefferson wit the same critical intelligence he ap plied to problems of politics, scienc and morality.

Wills begins by drawing an exact an evocative account of the Philadelphi summer of 1776 and of the young red headed Virginian who will be his her There is no doubt that Garry Wills i our best narrator of political event and the first 100 pages of this book ar just as exciting as the scintillatin reportage of the 1968 campaign in th first half of *Nixon Agonistes*. Wills' great fault as a writer, on the othe hand, has always been his straining fo interconnectedness between all thos events and all the world's truths. Hi characters come to resemble tha vaudeville comedian who inadvertentl sews his knees to his cuffs to his hat an becomes a human marionette i stitched rhythm. Richard Nixon' thread was his debt to Emersonia individualism and Wilsonian liberal ism, which seemed to explain the od concatenation of Nixon's economics political appeal and personal manner Jefferson, about whom Wills is mor generous if equally fascinated, is a gangly fellow whose many inconsisten cies are best explained by his indebted ness to 18th-century British thought and particularly to those who dwelt i "the invigorating realm of the Scottish Enlightenment."

Beneath every one of the homilies o the Declaration, then, Wills finds a pre cise technical meaning. Together these bring the document out of its Lincoln ian shadow. That American independ ence was "necessary," for example indicates that Jefferson was a disciple of Newton's enthusiasm for a mechanis tic model of the universe. That the truths of the Declaration were "self evident" in the final draft shows that Jefferson learned his epistemology from Francis Hutcheson, the Scottish moral ist. That independence implied dissolv-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

g the sentimental "bands which have nnected" Americans to Britons meant at Jefferson's heart throbbed at the ssons in benevolence taught by Lau-nce Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*.

The animus of Wills's book, as many viewers have noted, is his wish to dis-dge John Locke as the major influ-nce on Jefferson. Why, it must be sked, does Wills want so much to clude Locke from the pantheon of fluences on the Founding Fathers? urely he would say it was in the inter-sts of historical truth. But intellectual istory doesn't proceed like a detective ovel. We can't pin down "who did it," ho influenced the Declaration, when t" was merely a point in the magnifi-nt flood of 18th-century reflections on ne nature of civil polity. And further, ll the names Wills would put in the lace of Locke as America's chief illu-iner on these questions were in im-ortant ways students and disciples of ocke.

It is the extremely individualistic ast of Locke's thought which seems to isturb Wills, though he won't come ight out and say so. By wresting Jef-erson away from Locke, Wills can trike a blow at what Louis Hartz con-eived twenty-five years ago as "the naster assumption of American politi-al thought [namely] the reality of atom-stic social freedom." Hartz's *Liberal Tradition in America*, among other ooks, locates the fundamental Ameri-an consensus in the evolution of Locke-n liberalism—a tradition, paradoxi-ally, of change, an order based on ragmentation.

Wills is reluctant to make explicit hese ideological purposes, probably for ear of substituting his own pushy relevance" for that of Lincoln, but his ork has the effect of finding a more raternal, communitarian basis for merican democracy than a Lockean ould ever admit. The Scots, with their mphasis upon a universal "moral ense" or "common sense rationality," rovided Jefferson with a vision of olitical order based upon a faith in uman equality and held together with ffection rather than self-interest.

According to Morton White, Wills eed not have bothered. In *The Philos-phy of the American Revolution*, White nodifies our impression of Locke as a horoughgoing empiricist, and shows hat he believed men capable of intuit-ng rational principles (despite his version to the concept that such princi-les are innately known). Locke's views re carefully contrasted with the Scot-ish arguments. But most important, White demonstrates that all these epis-temologies could serve quite conserva-tive, anti-democratic ends.

Despite their professed interest in human equality, it seems, the Enlight-enment philosophers doubted whether all people possessed the moral acumen or the rational intelligence to compre-hend man's unalienable rights. On the face cards of their arguments, to bor-row a metaphor from White, the philos-ophers seemed to be saying that self-evident truths were within the grasp of all, or that all men are given "natural rights" by their Creator without any corresponding duties. But as White reconstructs the entire "deck" in which these arguments are found, he deduces that Locke or Jefferson (or the Swiss thinker, Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui, who is said to be the intercessor between the two) included a number of "jokers." These are subtle parts of their arguments which reshape the obvious political implications, such as the dis-tinction between "the people" (who could understand moral truth) and "the rabble" (who could not). If they fol-lowed the logic of their "philosophical tutors," White concludes, the Founding Fathers were as reluctant to accord all men the requisite mental capacity for democratic citizenship as they were to dispense with all property qualifica-tions for voting.

For White, the democratic and liber-tarian aspects of classical 18th-century political theory have been overblown. When, for example, the historian Dan-iel Boorstin celebrates Jefferson's natu-ral rights philosophy as freeing men of all duties to their neighbors, White reminds him of "the Lockean and Bur-lamaquian roots of Jefferson's think-ing." These roots enabled the young Virginian to derive not only natural rights from man's "created essence" but also natural obligations. Hence the motto of Monticello, "Resistance to Tyrants is *Obedience* to God," was the emblem of a man who felt strongly his duties in the world.

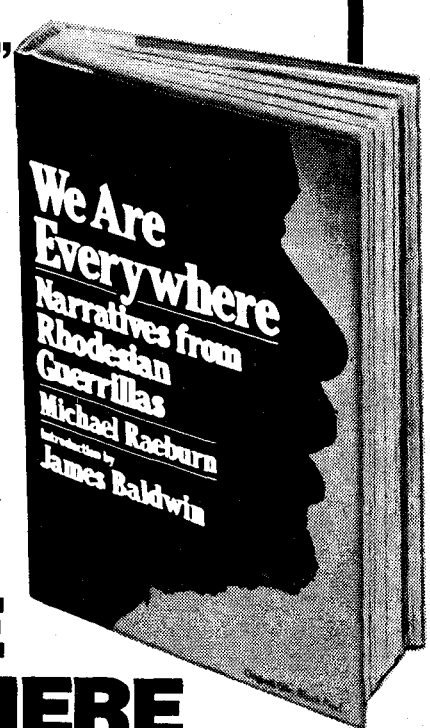
So, despite their disagreements, these two books join in dissenting from the liberal "consensus" historiography of Enlightenment political philosophy. White tends to view the tradition as more authoritarian, Wills as more com-munitarian, but both help sketch an emerging picture of 18th-century America as a land on the remote shore of atomistic liberalism.

Their work is harmonious with many interesting things American historians have lately been discovering about that

"Gripping reading"
"Timely and vivid"
"Historic action at its strongest"

This is just a small sampling of the praise that overseas reviewers have been heaping on *We Are Everywhere*, a portrait of freedom fighters in Africa, told from the point of view of the guerrillas themselves. These dramatizations of guerrilla struggles from 1964 to 1972 are based on actual interviews as well as extensive research. Movingly, excitingly, *We Are Everywhere* provides a crucial insight into one of the central problems of our time.

$8.95, now at your bookstore



WE ARE EVERYWHERE
Narratives from Rhodesian Guerrillas
by MICHAEL RAEBURN
Introduction by James Baldwin
RANDOM HOUSE

LSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

distant territory. Its political culture was still largely based upon deference to local leaders. Its families were patriarchal, its homes a confusing mix of nurturing and manufacturing activities. Its law and theology were professedly repositories of eternal truth rather than utilitarian weapons for self-discipline and self-aggrandizement. It looked at the world as a dwelling place and not a resource for economic development. It thrived still on asymmetrical relationships among its inhabitants, and thought well of "condescension" as an attitude toward one's inferiors. And still it was a world which was Newtonian in its belief in the mathematic regularity of the natural world, Lockean in its delight in the process by which ideas emerged in individual experience, and *encyclopédiste* in its pleasure in mechanical and intellectual inventiveness.

Wills presents a brilliant portrait of Jefferson's enthusiastic accommodation to these latter, Enlightenment credos, but he has virtually nothing which connects our third President to his own country. Scotland may have been a rich culture, in Wills's mind, but America was not. Oh, Philadelphia had Franklin, Rittenhouse and James Wilson, but it was not Jefferson's "lost world," only his avenue in approaching Edinburgh and Aberdeen.

In a way, Morton White also reduces the Founding Fathers to appendages of the European philosophical debate about natural rights, self-evident truths and the role of government. His book half regrets their active lives, and insists on filling out logically the arguments they might have made if they had devoted the proper attention to their philosophical tutorials. For both Wills and White, Jefferson and his colleagues seem a class of graduate students. They are comprehensible chiefly through their professors' teachings, incapable of original thought based upon their personal experiences in the larger culture and without any intellectual development even over their long lives.

Both books are valuable aids, nonetheless, to the development of an American political theory in our own day—and would be more so if they did not proclaim their irrelevance to contemporary understanding so loudly. Wouldn't a clearer, even if unfamiliar, Declaration be helpful to us in understanding our radically different world?

American education is now caught in a badly informed brawl about "basics" and a richer debate about what things are self-evident and what things are not would be a great help. Our administrative procedures are demonstrating that "if planning is everything, maybe it's nothing," and a well-conceived critique of the Newtonian model for program momentum and inertia is in order. Our political dialogue is sour with complaints about the suddenly enlarged influence of "special interests"; would not our knowledge both of ourselves and of Madison's Tenth Federalist be enhanced by comparing our special interests with his "faction"?

Our search for the historical truth of Revolutionary political theory would not be impeded by admitting that we, like every prior generation, look for particular truths amid those so confidently proclaimed as self-evident 200 years ago. History, like every human science, is shaped by our contemporary concerns—with racial and sexual equality, with economic justice or environmental preservation. That is why we are always redoing our history, rediscovering the origins of *this* world. When we compare our discovery with that reported by earlier scholars, we can then see our contrasting, contemporary concerns more clearly.

Wills and White are immensely helpful astronomers in discerning the odd character of the historical worlds we set off to visit. We need other minds to provide the return tickets. □

The Winds Of Truth

THOMAS I. EMERSON

DEFENDING MY ENEMY: American Nazis, the Skokie Case, and the Risks of Freedom. *By Aryeh Neier. E. P. Dutton. 182 pp. $9.95.*

Defending My Enemy is a primer on one of the most sophisticated, and hardest to learn, features of a system of individual rights. It deals with the question of whether freedom should be allowed for the forceful expression of ideas that, in the words of Justice Holmes, are "fraught with death." The issues are complicated by the fact that the detested ideas are often advanced against a background, or with future implications, of violent action.

History attests that the temptation to make exceptions to the right of free speech is a powerful one. Milton, who first formulated the modern theory of freedom of expression, would not have allowed that freedom to Catholics, atheists or non-Christians. Locke, the founder of our political system, would have denied it to Catholics or those who were intolerant of other religions. More recently, Communists have rejected freedom of speech for Trotskyists, while Walter Lippmann and others have rejected it for Communists. Fortunately our courts have refused, at least in the ory, to make such exceptions. The prevailing principle of our legal system is that expression of all political view points is protected by the First Amendment, and that speech must be separated from action.

The issue came up in Skokie in a most painful way. A small group of Nazis bent upon provocation and publicity announced their intention of marching through the Skokie suburb of Chicago in full regalia. The area is the home of a large number of Jews, many of whom are survivors of the Nazi concentration camps, or have had families or friends slaughtered in the Holocaust. The village reacted by obtaining an injunction prohibiting the march and by passing ordinances which would make it impossible for the Nazis to conduct any kind of demonstration in Skokie.

The Nazis, with obvious glee, immediately applied to the American Civil Liberties Union for legal assistance. The A.C.L.U. took on the case. Prominent in making that decision were Aryeh Neier, then national executive director of the A.C.L.U., and David Goldberger, legal director of the Illinois affiliate. Both are Jews, and Neier himself had barely escaped from the Nazi concentration camps when his family left Germany in 1939, only days before the outbreak of World War II. After more than a year of litigation, the courts upheld the right of the Nazis to march. Their legal rights vindicated however, the Nazis decided to avoid confrontation, abandoned the Skokie march, and held a small demonstration in their own part of town.

The action by the A.C.L.U. in undertaking the defense of the Nazis' right to demonstrate, so long as the demonstration was peaceful on their part, was wholly in accord with past A.C.L.U. policy and practice, in fact was virtually routine. Nevertheless, the decision aroused a nationwide controversy. The extent of opposition to the A.C.L.U. position can be measured by the impact upon the A.C.L.U. itself. Although pre

Thomas I. Emerson is Lines Professor of Law emeritus of Yale University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

umably composed of persons more edicated to the tradition of free speech nan the ordinary citizen, the organiza- on immediately received 4,000 letters f resignation. In the end, the A.C.L.U. ost 30,000 members, 15 percent of its otal membership and $500,000 a year n financial support.

Aryeh Neier's book opens with a mov- ng statement of his personal reasons hy, although a Jew himself, he never- heless felt it imperative to defend the ights of the Nazis. The book then tells he story of the events in Skokie, as well s recounting two similar controversies rowing out of A.C.L.U. legal represen- ation of Ku Klux Klan members. The rguments advanced on each side are et forth with clarity. Finally, Neier laces the issues in the context of American struggles to maintain free- lom of expression and the experience of England and Germany in dealing with he Nazi problem. The book does not reak new ground but it does give a val- uable account of this crucial challenge o our system of individual rights.

Defending My Enemy should not nake us too comfortable, however. The outcome in Skokie was surely favora- ble. The principles of free speech were naintained and strengthened. The Na- is did not actually march in Skokie. The A.C.L.U. has largely recouped its osses. But, as Neier makes clear, the episode represents in some ways an easy case. The Nazi group was insignif- cant in numbers and its views attract- ed little or no acceptance. Whether the system of free expression would stand up under more pressing circumstances s, in view of the lack of support from important quarters, another question.

Moreover, one is bound to be some- what concerned over the narrow scope of Neier's defense of his position. He justifies his view on the ground that Jews have little power in American society, that as a Jew he wants re- straints on the power of others and that in particular he wants the right to speak, to appeal to the world: "It is a matter of self-interest." He thus makes a practical argument, from the point of view of a minority. And it is certainly sound. Yet there are broader founda- tions for the system of freedom of expression, including those based upon a rationale for majority support and upon a more comprehensive view of the good society. Neier expands his view- point as the book goes on, but he never reaches the highest ground.

Finally, as Neier points out, the polit- ical left, including the newer "progres- sive" wing, has given somewhat less than full support to the civil liberties tradition of defending the right of everyone to speak. Part of their concern seems to be that a commitment to toler- ating speech by the enemy weakens the commitment to political activism. Yet this need not be the case. In any event, the time has come for the political left to examine what a system of individual rights should look like in a more collec- tive society. What is thought and done now about these issues will shape our future. □

Specialist And Citizen

GILBERT HARMAN

LANGUAGE AND RESPONSIBIL- ITY: Based on Conversations with Mit- sou Ronat. *By Noam Chomsky. Trans- lated From the French by John Viertel. Pantheon Books. 212 pp. $10. Paper $3.95.*

In January 1976 Mitsou Ronat interviewed Noam Chomsky about topics in linguistics, psy- chology, science and politics. She then translated their discussion into French (Noam Chomsky, *Dia- logues avec Mitsou Ronat*, Paris, 1977). Now John Viertel has translated her translation back into a new English version which Chomsky has revised. The result of all this translation, re- translation and revision is surprisingly good reading, giving a sense of what Chomsky is like in conversation and indicating what he has been up to.

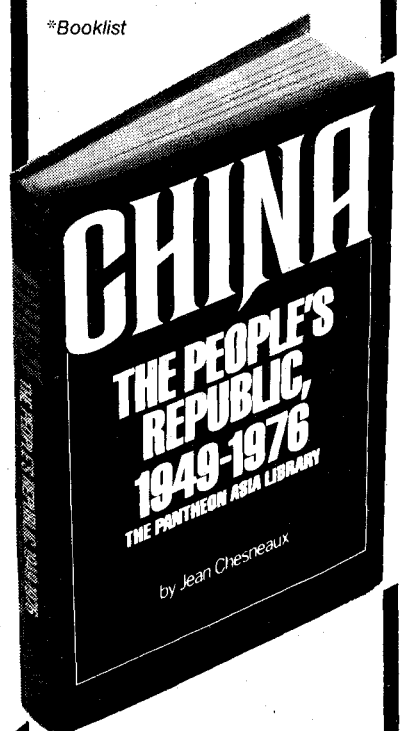
The themes of the discussion are familiar from Chomsky's previous writ- ings. The social sciences are not very scientific. Science aims at explanatory principles of great scope and depth. It requires idealization, abstraction and special techniques, but these tech- niques are valuable only to the extent that they result in depth of insight. The social sciences have ignored this point and have been too concerned with data, with behavior, with classification. They have developed idealizations, abstrac- tions and complex techniques of analy- sis that have not yielded explanatory insight. Consequently, the social sci- ences have been sterile and empty. In

Gilbert Harman is the author of The Nature of Morality *(Oxford University Press) and the editor of* On Noam Chomsky *(Anchor). He teaches philos- ophy at Princeton University.*

"An excellent introduction."*

"Chesneaux and his collaborators have done an excellent job, especially in their clear and precise presentation of issues...will prove useful as a standard work in most public as well as university libraries."
—*Library Journal*

**Booklist*



"An extraordinary volume. In 400 pages they convey the epic downfall of the Ch'ing Dynasty in simple and easily digestible prose, yet they do not shy away from the concrete detail so necessary for understanding this extremely complex historical period."
—*Comparative Politics*

Translated by Paul Auster and Lydia Davis

LC: 78-51797
ISBN: 0-394-42873-0 $15, cloth
ISBN: 0-394-73623-0 $4.95, paper

PANTHEON
201 E. 50th St.
New York 10022

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fact, everything in social science is available to anyone, and social scientists have no special knowledge or expertise. They pretend otherwise in order to protect their class position and to keep people from controlling their own lives.

It happens that linguistics, as Chomsky has developed it, is an exception to his negative views of social science, since Chomsky has in fact discovered much that is important about language in his investigations of "generative grammar." His work supposes the existence of a completely explicit or "generative" grammar of every language. Such a grammar is a set of rules specifying how sentences of the language are constructed, in a way that accounts for their meanings. The grammar has psychological reality: any speaker of a language has an internal mental representation of its grammar, a representation he or she uses in speaking and in understanding what others have said. But the grammar of a language is not the only thing its speakers use. They also rely on various pragmatic principles of conversation, on processing strategies for interpreting what is said, on principles of commonsense knowledge, and so on. Various systems interact. In order to study grammar one must therefore abstract the contribution of grammar and distinguish it from these other factors. Furthermore, one must idealize. One must envision an ideal speaker-hearer in an ideally homogeneous linguistic community, even though in the real world most people must deal regularly with several different dialects. The fact that generative grammar requires this sort of idealization and abstraction is not an objection to it since abstraction and idealization are needed for any sort of serious science and to eschew them is to condemn one's research to sterility.

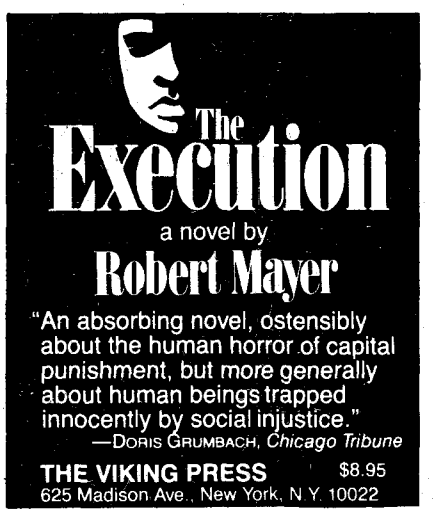
Many of Chomsky's insights about language come from asking how a speaker acquires his or her internal grammar. Chomsky argues that psychological "learning theory" cannot account for this acquisition, and that we must, as a consequence, assume many aspects of grammar to be "built-in" in a kind of abstract schematism for grammar. These built-in aspects of grammar will be parts of the grammar of every language. They are, in other words, aspects of "universal grammar." We must therefore suppose that people have a specific faculty of language, a kind of "mental organ," which develops in the appropriate way, given appropriate experience, yielding a knowledge of whatever language is spoken in their community.

Chomsky's successes in linguistics (which he reviews in the second half of *Language and Responsibility*) embolden him to propose linguistics as a general model for psychology. If progress is to be made, he suggests, one must first isolate an area of systematic knowledge, such as three-dimensional spatial perception, or one's ability to recognize faces, or one's intuitive knowledge of social relations. One must then develop a framework for the explicit representation of this knowledge and one must consider how this knowledge is acquired, how that particular "mental organ" develops, what part of its makeup is built in ahead of time, what part derives from experience and how it does so. Chomsky sees this as a promising approach which may yield new insights, but he refuses to be dogmatic about it, allowing that some other approach to the problem not yet envisioned may turn out to be a better one.

Chomsky is, of course, not only a scientist but also a fiercely polemical political writer and ideological critic. He regards this sort of enterprise as quite different from scientific research. Indeed, he thinks it requires no special ability or expertise at all: "a bit of open-mindedness, normal intelligence, and healthy skepticism will suffice." He explains how anyone can do it:

> Look at the work of the specialists in contemporary affairs and compare their interpretation with the events, compare what they say with the world of fact. You will often find great and fairly systematic divergence. Then you can take a further step and try to explain these divergences, taking into account the class position of the intelligentsia.

This is inspiring, but is it true?


The
Execution
a novel by
Robert Mayer
"An absorbing novel, ostensibly about the human horror of capital punishment, but more generally about human beings trapped innocently by social injustice."
—Doris Grumbach, Chicago Tribune
THE VIKING PRESS
$8.95
625 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022

"Healthy skepticism" suggests it is no Granted, social science is no help, sinc it isn't really science, but some sort discipline is required to pursue Chom sky's form of ideological analysis. Or must do more than "look at" the work specialists in contemporary affairs: or must read this work and understand i The reader has to grasp the main argu ments, distinguish what is central fro what is not, distinguish irony fro what is meant seriously, and so on. Th may seem simple, but clearly it is no "Specialists" and others are misunde stood all the time. Chomsky himself ha often complained that people have mi interpreted his views and others hav in turn complained about his mi interpretations of theirs.

Similarly, it is not a simple task t take what specialists say and "compar their interpretation with the event compare what they say with the worl of fact." Unfortunately, one is not give the world of fact directly; one is give instead various reports, stories, inte pretations, often conflicting, all which one must interpret and asses One has to decide what reports ar accurate and what are not, which ar more important, which are less impo tant, what things are significant, wha are not. It is easy to go wrong. Most pe ple are very bad at this task, a task tha requires historical sensitivity and disc plined judgment.

The situation is even more comple when moral judgments are involved, a in Chomsky's political writing. Mora issues are delicate and sensitive. On cannot simply discover the moral trut embedded somewhere in the "world fact." Nor is it easy to appreciate th moral position of someone on the othe side. There is a great temptation t oversimplify another person's positio or to exaggerate it.

Chomsky does not want to see that a appreciation of what is going on in th world requires some sort of specia expertise, because he thinks that if thi were the case it would make it impossi ble for ordinary people to control thei lives. But the fact is that ordinary peopl have to rely on other people for all sort of things—one cannot exist withou relying on others. This is as true in th political area as in any other, perhap more so. Even in the best of societie everyone will have to rely on the expert ise of others in forming an opinio about current events.

How does Chomsky miss this obviou point? In part he does so because he ha a strong bias in favor of one particula intellectual endeavor in which he ha

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at ability: scientific research aimed uncovering deep explanations. He nks all expertise must be scientific ertise. He underrates or ignores er sorts of intellectual discipline, h as history and scholarship, which uire different talents. This comes clearly in *Language and Responsiity* when Chomsky remarks that, hough he has had no formal mathetical training, mathematicians occanally invite him to speak to them on thematical linguistics, but when he aks or writes on political matters, ple often ask what credentials enti- him to do so.

> Generally speaking, it seems fair to say that the richer the intellectual substance of a field, the less there is a concern for credentials, and the greater is the concern for content.

But surely this is not simply a ques- n of "intellectual substance," unless define intellectual substance mean merely depth of scientific planation. The point is, rather, that scientific subjects, especially mathetics, it is possible to evaluate what is d on its own terms. The proofs go ough or they do not. But what is said out "social reality" cannot be evalud in an *a priori* way. The speaker will often rely on information not previously known to the audience. Questions arise concerning which facts are significant. Moral issues are often involved. An audience cannot assess the speaker's conclusions directly, in the way that they might directly assess a mathematical proof. An audience cannot simply compare the speaker's remarks with "the world of fact." Furthermore, different commentators on social reality seem to disagree, so that an audience is compelled to ask of any commentator: can we trust you? Why should we suppose you have your facts right or that you have allowed for all the relevant facts? Why should we suppose you have interpreted the facts correctly or that you have given the right weight to competing considerations? What are your political commitments? What are your moral priorities?

It is unhappily true, as Chomsky complains, that questions of this sort play an important role in an informal system of ideological control, and it is also true that such questions are often used to discredit people with unconventional political opinions such as Noam Chomsky's. But that is life. It is no remedy to pretend that these questions are not appropriate, that historical and political analyses require no special discipline, and that there is no intellectual substance to a field unless it is a branch of science. □

FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

It will surprise me if 1979 sees an all-around better thriller than *The China Syndrome*, in which Jane Fonda, Jack Lemmon and Michael Douglas, under the direction of James Bridges, force into public view the imminent possibility of a catastrophic nuclear power plant failure, and thus spare the western third of the United States the radioactive annihilation about which we all worry so much and have discovered we can do so little to prevent.

The film is impeccably plotted and staged with the "you are there" verisimilitude that can be achieved, in the case of large spectacles, only when lavish budgets are combined with a perfectionist regard for details. It is performed by a large cast that, from stars to extras, seems exhilarated by the knowledge that all the skills and devices of mass entertainment are here

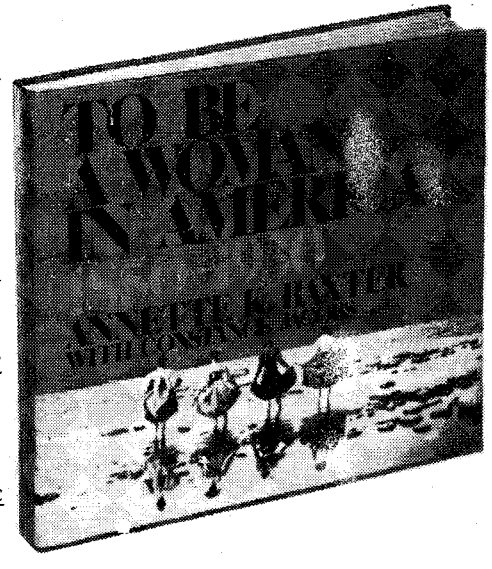
"The essence and variety of womanhood

during an earlier period of the nation's past is portrayed. . . . There are no rehearsed poses. Each photo is candid, making this collection a rarity." —San Francisco Examiner & Chronicle

"We see women in mills and factories, teaching school, in domestic activity, in sports, at colleges with men, and alone. There are some lovely, unexpected surprises /and/ there are 'breakthrough' pictures . . . rarely seen in print before . . . with informative commentary on 80 years in the lives of American women." —DORIS GRUMBACH, The New York Times Book Review

"A tribute to a century of loving, giving, nurturing, battling injustice, and brightening life's darker corners." —HARRIET VAN HORNE

"The photographs . . . speak for themselves—of lives more vital and various than we might have expected women to lead between 1850 and 1930." —The New Republic



Illustrated with 200 photos / Paperback, $7.95 Also available in cloth, $14.95

Times BOOKS
Three Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

being used to display the conflicting interests that bedevil the most controversial technical advance of our time. As a Columbia Pictures release says, the picture is about power in a double sense—the power needed to operate our hyper-mechanized, superautomated society and the power of a small corporate cabal to protect its interests by maintaining a theoretically stronger public in a state of indecision compounded by ignorance.

In *The China Syndrome*, two such cabals predominate and cooperate. One of them is the news division of a California television station, where Kimberly Wells (Fonda) is a special features (i.e., human interest) reporter with ambitions for investigative journalism. The other is a Southern California public utility in whose atomic plant Jack Godell (Lemmon) supervises the central control room. When a frightening generator malfunction raises the possibility of a serious weakness in the reactor, the repair of which would cost millions, the instinct of corporate self-protection unites the two executive boards in a conspiracy of disingenuousness. The teaming up of Godell, a passionately loyal employee who knows what is at stake, and Wells, who is willing to defy orders to get the story on the air, is much more fortuitous; indeed, it almost does not happen. The fact that it does is the crux of this David and Goliath cliff-hanger. It ends with bloodshed, reputations ruined, jobs sacrificed; but with the truth exposed and no mushroom cloud in the sky.

The film, as said above, is superb entertainment, but is it more than that? I am certain that more is intended. Several of those most importantly involved with the film have reputations as anti-nuke activists, and a *New York Times* advance feature story of March 11 as much as dared the atomic energy community to knock the chip off *China Syndrome*'s shoulder. The picture carries the usual disclaimer that any resemblance to real person or events is a coincidence, but, according to *The Times*, the first near-disaster in Godell's control room is based on a 1970 incident at Dresden, Ill. No suggestion of homicide has ever, as far as I know, been raised against the nuclear authorities of a public utility, but on March 6 a jury was empaneled in Oklahoma City to hear the $11.5 million suit brought against the Kerr-McGee Corporation, a manufacturer of plutonium fuel assemblies, in connection with the death of their employee, Karen G. Silkwood. Ms. Silkwood was killed in a car accident when she was on her way to a meeting with officials of her union and a reporter from *The New York Times*. She was said to be carrying documents that she wanted the men to see; no such papers were found when her wrecked car was examined. An accident that is one of the key incidents in the picture happens in a way that parallels closely Ms. Silkwood's fatal crash, as tentatively reconstructed by police investigators. The film also hinges on forged X-rays of welded joints. No one, again to my knowledge, has charged such crimes against any nuclear construction work, but there has been an epidemic of faulty welds, along with allegations of fraudulent X-rays, on the Alaska pipeline, an enterprise which, like the firm in the movie, employed subcontractors for such work.

It is fair to say, then, that *The China Syndrome* displays an awareness of recent alarming occurrences, and Aljean Harmetz, in *The Times* feature story, reports that the industry is getting ready to fight. It would probably be wiser to lie low; the film, I regret to predict, will cause the utilities little trouble unless they go out of their way to make it. The picture's miscalculation, as an activist tract, is that its entertainment value is so high, and so similar in style to any number of other glossy melodramas with underpinning of social concern—whether about th international narcotics trade or th terrorism of military despots or th danger of fire in super-skyscrapers that its effect may well be to trivializ as passive entertainment a disturbin aberration of contemporary life. A l of people, I suspect, today remembe Watergate as that swell picture which Dustin Hoffman and Robe Redford got the word from Deep Thro in a spooky subterranean garage. Ho many will now sleep well in the supp sition that the overlords of nuclea energy were brought to book by Fon and Lemmon, when Douglas's came crews arrived minutes before the acet lene torches burned through the door the barricaded control room? It is poss ble, as I shall suggest, to amuse and the same time arouse an audience, but doubt it can be done with a picture th employs, however skillfully, the va nished professionalism of contemp rary "real life" thrillers.

Being thus in some doubt about th social effectiveness of *The China Sy drome*, I went to see *The Warriors*, film that is alleged to be only too effe tive in producing antisocial respons Of course, the two films are scarce parallel stimulants. *The Warriors* do not pretend to mimic reality; as c rected by Walter Hill, it is the emboc ment of a dream, a thrilling nightmar in which frustrations and inhibitio are overwhelmed by heroics as hea filling as they would be improbable the light of day.

It is said that nine-man delegatio from all the fighting gangs of Great New York have been summoned by o Cyrus, an enigmatic prophet, to a pa in the Bronx (as I recall Sol Yurick novel, it was Van Cortlandt Par When they have assembled, Cyr exhorts them to consider what formid ble numbers they represent—60,000. says—and to consider that in all Ne York there are but a tenth that ma policemen. If only they will unit renouncing their petty quarrels ov turf, the city will belong to them. Gre rejoicing greets these words, in th midst of which a gun is fired and Cyr falls dead. "It was the Warriors," voice cries out. "I saw a Warrior k Cyrus."

The accusation is quite false b instantly believed, and the nine Wa riors, delegates of a Coney Island gan must make their way home down th full length of the city, through unknow territory where every resident gar has been alerted to capture them, if po

A Note From the Publisher

A reception supper to honor our Nation Associates will take place on Monday, April 23 at 6 P.M. at Cooper Union College, 7th Street and Third Avenue, New York City.

This event is being held in conjunction with the Cooper Union Forum, which will present a salute to *The Nation* following the reception. The forum will be co-hosted by Hamilton Fish, publisher of *The Nation*, and Henry Alter, director of the Cooper Union Forum, and will include Victor Navasky, editor of *The Nation*, as well as distinguished contributors to the magazine.

The Nation Associates have provided invaluable support to the magazine for more than three decades. We invite regular subscribers to join the Nation Associates (minimum annual membership of $50 includes a one-year subscription to *The Nation*). Write or phone Claudine Bacher at *The Nation* (212) 242-8400 for further information.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Norman Birnbaum, Blair Clark,
Ramsey Clark, Fred Cook, Terrence Des Pres,
E.L. Doctorow, Richard Falk, Jules Feiffer,
Tom Ferguson & Joel Rogers, Frances FitzGerald,
James Goodman & Dorothy Samuels, Philip Green,
Christopher Hitchens, Leonard Kriegel,
Penny Lernoux, Sanford Levinson,
Carey McWilliams, Aryeh Neier, Marcel Ophuls,
Nora Sayre, Robert Sherrill, Calvin Trillin,
Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., Alan Wolfe **write it.**

John Alcorn, Marshall Arisman, Tony Auth,
Seymour Chwast, Robert Grossman, Frances Jetter,
Ed Koren, David Levine, Lou Meyers, Ed Sorel
illustrate it.

Victor Navasky **edits it.**

We've changed the face of The Nation.
The new Nation is something to see.

Why is today's Nation, from editorial
to the arts, wiser and wittier than anything
in the field? The answer is in the people
who write it, illustrate it, and edit it.

Join them. Say "yes" to our enticing
offer in the coupon.

The Nation.

333 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10014

YES! Send me six months (24 issues) of The Nation at the low introductory rate of $9.95. I understand I may cancel at any time and receive a prompt refund for all undelivered copies.

☐ I enclose $9.95. For saving you billing costs I will receive four extra issues free.

☐ Enclosed is $21 for one full year (47 issues).

* Add $3.00 postage for Canada and Mexico; $5 other foreign subscriptions.

Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

Name _____
(please print)

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

2014

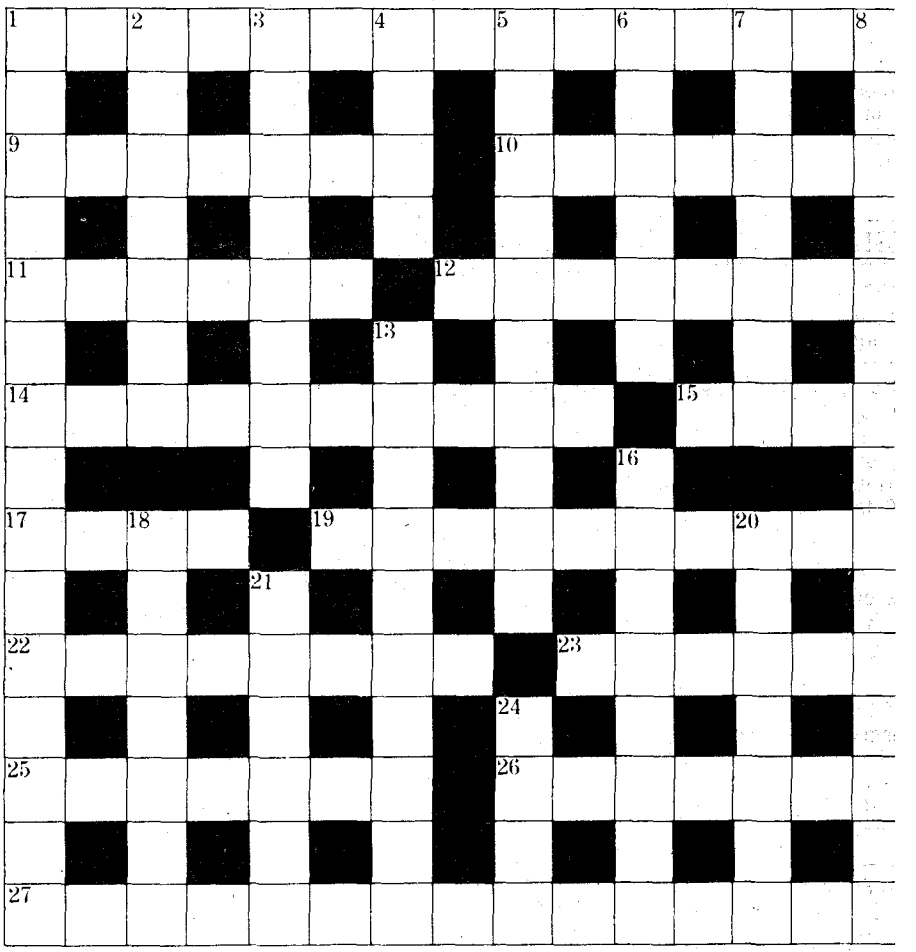
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sible, and if not, to kill them. By guile, agility, courage and a prowess at street fighting that scoffs at hopeless odds, six of the nine make it back to their Atlantic seashore haunts, there to be exonerated and hailed as heroes by the massed voices of a gang army.

This is not a picture of the youth gangs of New York; it is a vision of how, pathetically, some of them may have envisioned themselves. Their total membership never approached 60,000, and though a Kennedy Airport express is glimpsed at one of the subway stations through which the Warriors slip, that train has been operating for only about a year and there have been no such fighting gangs in the city for at least a decade (thanks, in large part, to the diligence of the dope pushers). It is a narrative of epic simplicity, and in fact Yurick took as his model the *Anabasis*, Xenophon's account of the Greeks' 1,000-mile march home from war in Persia. Yurick's heroes, too, move through a strange, empty land (it is very late at night), dispatching members of the police with the dispassionate efficiency one employs on jungle carnivores, closing ranks whenever a hostile band appears, reading subway maps as strange to them as parchment charts of Cathay, overcoming, one after another, the perils that lurk between them and their island home. The message is very Greek—strength and fidelity are rewarded; weakness, physical or moral, the gods remorselessly punish. It is all, as I said, a dream; Greater New York is not the empty wasteland of Asia Minor, and Xenophon has been dead 2,000 years. Only kids with no faith in reality could make so absurd a mistake. *The Warriors*, thus, is a tragedy for all its triumphant conclusion. However, it is understandable that young men are reported to be leaving performances of the film with the light of battle in their eyes. It is too bad that *The China Syndrome* does not evoke a related itch for civil combat, but it contains no vision. Yes, you may say, but it is easier for rootless, jobless youths to imagine themselves fearless warriors than for middle-class Americans to see themselves tilting at the windmills of corporate arrogance. I agree and reaffirm that, of its type, *The China Syndrome* is splendid. But if someone really wanted to rouse the citizens from their lethargy, it would have to be done by appealing to their dreams of themselves, not by bathing them in the box-office tested pleasures of dazzlingly realistic thrillers with socially pertinent overtones. And that, in turn, assumes that the middle class still dreams. □

Crossword Puzzle No. 1767

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Naked, maybe, as they say—just a chance of it. (4,11)
9 Ran yours and mine, coming back a short time to embrace it. (7)
10 West Indian or French animal. (7)
11 A gentle slope—at least most of the glacier is. (6)
12 In case you might find the bat alive? (8)
14 Such a process is little more than a type of surgery. (4-6)
15 Look fondly, and go back to the French. (4)
17 Pleasing French town. (4)
19 Priestly—the poor rich are here for Caesar. (10)
22 A calm in a storm? That's crazy! (8)
23 Equal and relative—with a benefice. (6)
25 Many people speak this wish, confused with Ali. (7)
26 From which there might be driving rain inside—especially for the beginner. (7)
27 Back doing it at times—leading an effort, as they say. (8,3,4)

DOWN

1 Supposedly unobtrusive, support minced airs, etc. (10,5)
2 Musical embellishment, or meat around meat, it cuts our lead. (7)
3 Its motifs might be borrowed when the cap is fashioned. (8)
4 This line is not your business. (4)
5 In an island south of us, hills from wh you might expect something to pe sooner or later. (10)
6 Encroachment made by forcing a in? (6)
7 I'm bubbling, in a word, without little barrel impregnating. (7)
8 What happens if you obey the oath secrecy? The answer isn't very speci (3,5,3,4)
13 It's Antonia, strangely, that should l to godly association, nearly. (10)
16 China's being dropped might lead t (8)
18 Horseman, first and last—at least part. (7)
20 Save, pray! That's what it means! (21 Is Yale responsible for it? Not harc (6)
24 What's the direction? Don't change!

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1766

ACROSS: 1 and 25 Canterbury Tales Idol; 10 Loretta; 11 Peasant; 12 Forsak 13 Steel; 15 Fasts; 17 Off the top; 19 T Bowery; 21 Bosch; 23 Erect; 24 On pati 27 Outgrow; 28 Calypso; 29 Sure; 30 Dr shops. DOWN: 1 and 14 Call off the dogs Narrows; 3 Estes; 4 Black hole; 5 Ripen Dialect; 8, 26 and 24 down Let slip the d of war; 9 Raise hob; 16 Spotters; 18 F specks; 20 Elector; 22 Scorpio.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LASSIFIED.

ational with The Nation's Classifieds: an reach a large audience of discrimi-g, educated and concerned readers ghout the United States at very reason-ates. We charge $3 per line (45 charac-r spaces)—two line minimum. Take ntage of our special offer: place an for three insertions of your ad, and we rint a fourth insertion free! Please en-payment and send to Lindsey Wein-c/o The Nation.

SINESS OPPORTUNITIES

$500.00 per thousand stuffing envelopes nailing. Details 25¢ to: Paul Douglas Co., Orden Pla., Clifton, N.J. 07011.

ble, United States public companies, com-price $75,000. Also needed, purchasers or ples for coventures in proven oil, gas and properties. E.J.R. Enterprises (Attn: Ed-H. Miller, Jr.), Box 87, 46 Jarvis St., Fort Ontario L2A 5M9. (416) 871-2624.

EXTRA INCOME—$500/1000 stuffing enve-Guaranteed. Rush stamped self-ssed envelope to: Camelot Enterprises, . Hibbert #15, Mesa, Ariz. 85201.

VACATION RENTALS

ANDORRA, CULEBRA IS. Between P.R. and omas. Ideal: swimming, snorkeling, hik-ully equipped Waterfront homes. $200-275 for up to 6 people. Box 526, Bronxville, 10708.

ART

s Prints. Free Brochure. Freeco, Rt. 6 Box Cleveland, TN. 37311.

MISCELLANEOUS

PHOTO on a giant poster, wallet size; 8 x stamp size. Blk & white or color. Details E & B Sales 1682A W. Orangewood, Ana-CA 92802.

FOR SALE

SAVE $/tax/tolls. Directory. $1 + SASE: nic. #N1. Box 1799. Marysville, CA 95901.

SALE—First IBM Executive Electric Type-. Model #DC. Contact Ann Epstein 212-400.

ent's Lute. Custom made by Herb Hendrik-of Sausalito, California, Fine tone, excel-condition. $700.00 with custom case. Write n Box 19.

UNUSUAL GIFTS

YOURSELF KIT . . . A TIMELY NOVELTY IDEA! erfect gift for that special someone you get enough of. Send $5.95 + $1.95 shipping e Lights, Box 705-11, 4850 S. Lake Park, go, IL 60615. Dealer inquiries invited.

NERGY CONSERVATION

ING A HOUSE? Conserve Energy. Go subter-n! Instructions, general plans: $4 plus self-addressed stamped envelope. JIMCO-722 Mayfield #1, Los Angeles, California).

PERIODICALS

WOMEN ARTISTS NEWS doesn't just entertain you. It also informs you. $6 per year (10 issues). Box 3304 Dept. N, Grand Central Sta., NYC 10017.

WHY NOT LAUGH? Cultural Correspondence brings together radical and feminist jokesters, storytellers, artists. Current issue (#9) features Sex Role Humour, Cartoons from Labour's press, OSCAR AMERINGER selection, also TV criticism, Coney Island paintings, kid's section. $2. Sub: $7.50/year (quarterly) c/o Dorrwar Bookstore, 224 Thayer St., Providence, RI 02906.

PUBLICATIONS

SEXUAL POLITICS—Women's men's gay liberation books. Free Catalog: TCP, Albion-52. CA 95410.

LITERARY SERVICES

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors. Publicity, Advertising, beautiful books. All subjects invited. Send for fact-filled booklet and free manuscript report. Carlton Press, Dept. USA, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10011.

BOOKS

OUT OF PRINT BOOKS—Free search—DZ—Books Reborn, 69 Judith Road, Little Silver, N.J. 07739.

PERSONALS

Lawyer, mid-thirties, looking for a level-headed woman with MA. Reply, Nation Box 13.

GAY-BI PERSONAL ADS magazine $3.00 Ads 25¢ per word; "**LOVE TIMES**" Box 15607 TN Honolulu, HI 96815.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured, single, widowed or divorced acquainted. Est. 1970. Nationwide. Box AE, Swarthmore, PA 19081.

I AM A GUIDANCE COUNSELOR, woman, 37, and have been dispensing sympathy all my professional life. Now it's time for someone to sympathize with me. Could you be the one? Reply Nation Box 44.

HANG-GLIDER, mountaineer, free-faller, geologist, PhD, early forties, seeks companionship with woman who loves fresh air and natural physical adventures of all kinds. Reply Nation Box 25.

NO, no! go not to Lethe...Instead, why don't you sign up for the Sad Poets Series. Nation Box 11.

I collect 17th and 18th century shoe buckles, stick Norman arches on my pigsties. Looking for a woman who collects 19th century Greek grammars. Write Nation Box 802.

Young lady, 24, finds that Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of The Roman Empire" goes round and round like a roll of oil cloth and that most people's hearts are like old pieces of shoe leather. Lonely and sensitive from a retiring sort of life, seeks a companion to steal down country lanes when the room gets hot. Reply Nation Box 24.

RECORDS & TAPES

Records, tapes & books by, for and about WOMEN. Hundreds available. Poetry, prose, plays, speeches and music. FREE catalogue. WOMEN'S AUDIO EXCHANGE, BOX 273, Cambridge, N.Y. 12816.

BETTY O'HARA playing Shadow-Shapes, fluglehorn, single record. $1.50. Write Nation Box 555.

SERVICES

BECOME LEGALLY ORDAINED MINISTER. Credentials sent for $3 offering. Mother Earth Church, Dept. NA, 469 Pacific, Monterey, CA 93940

RENT-AN-ARTIST: Illustration, design, layout, paste-up, mechanical. Rush Service in NYC. 243-0532 or Nation Box 93.

MUSICAL INSTRUCTION

VOICE LESSONS - Experienced teacher: B.F.A., M.M., Fulbright scholar. 212-877-9161

ASSOCIATIONS

CORPUS—National Association Resigned/Married Priests; Box 2649; Chicago, IL 60690.

RECIPES

Save Money! Create your own liqueurs and cordials. No distilling or fermenting. Make in your kitchen. Recipes-Instructions only $3.95 ppd. E & B Sales 1682A W. Orangewood, Anaheim, CA 92802.

Claudine's Chewy Chip Bars. All done in one pan—no bowls etc. Send $1.00 and S.A.S.E. to The Nation Box 980.

Easy Shrimp Mousse. Send $1.00 and S.A.S.E. to The Nation Box 981.

Zucchini Soup. Great hot or cold. Send $1.00 and a stamped self addressed envelope to The Nation Box 982.

Scrumptious deep fried flour taco; Spanish gazpacho. S.A.S.E. and $1.00 to Nation Box 310.

Minnesota State Fair Blue Ribbon Banana Nut Bread (Super Moist). Fabulous No-Roll Sugar Cookies. SASE. $1.00 Write Nation Box 38.

Superb Chocolate Mousse. $1.00. SASE. Write Nation, Box 20.

Savoy Trifles and Sally Lunn Cakes. Send $1.00 and self-addressed stamped envelope to The Nation, Box 20.

Backyard Booya—A Midwestern Tradition. Send $1.00 and stamped, self-addressed envelope to Nation Box 39.

Extra Luscious Sky High Lemon Meringue Pie. Send $1.00 and S.A.S.E. To Nation Box 41.

Old English Date Pudding. Send $1.00 and S.A.S.E. to Nation Box 81.

Ask About Our Low Rates For Display Ads

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The year's most honored American writers are coming to Carnegie Hall.

The 35 nominees, in seven categories, for the 1979 National Book Awards

FICTION

■ **John Cheever**/The Stories of John Cheever/Alfred A. Knopf ■ **John Irving**/The World According to Garp/E. P. Dutton/A Henry Robbins Book ■ **Diane Johnson**/Lying Low/Alfred A. Knopf ■ **Tim O'Brien**/Going After Cacciato/Delacorte Press/Seymour Lawrence ■ **David Plante**/The Family/Farrar, Straus & Giroux

BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

■ **Donald Hall**/Remembering Poets: Reminiscences and Opinions/Harper & Row ■ **William Manchester**/American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur, 1880-1964/Little, Brown ■ **William M. Murphy**/Prodigal Father: The Life of John Butler Yeats (1839-1922)/Cornell University Press ■ **Phyllis Rose**/Woman of Letters: A Life of Virginia Woolf/Oxford University Press ■ **Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.**/Robert Kennedy and His Times/Houghton Mifflin Company

POETRY

■ **Robert Hayden**/American Journal/Effendi Press ■ **Sandra McPherson**/The Year of Our Birth/The Ecco Press ■ **James Merrill**/Mirabell: Books of Number/Atheneum ■ **Philip Schultz**/Like Wings/The Viking Press ■ **May Swenson**/New & Selected Things Taking Place/Atlantic/Little, Brown

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT

■ **Kenneth E. Boulding**/Stable Peace/University of Texas Press ■ **Ivan Doig**/This House of Sky: Landscapes of a Western Mind/Harcourt Brace Jovanovich ■ **Alfred Kazin**/New York Jew/Alfred A. Knopf ■ **Peter Matthiessen**/The Snow Leopard/The Viking Press ■ **Meyer Schapiro**/Modern Art: 19th & 20th Centuries/George Braziller, Inc.

HISTORY

■ **Reinhard Bendix**/Kings or People: Power and the Mandate to Rule/University of California Press ■ **Gordon A. Craig**/Germany 1866-1945/Oxford University Press ■ **Richard Beale Davis**/Intellectual Life in the Colonial South 1585-1763/University of Tennessee Press ■ **John H. White, Jr.**/The American Railroad Passenger Car/Johns Hopkins University Press ■ **Garry Wills**/Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence/Doubleday & Co.

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

■ **Lloyd Alexander**/The First Two Lives of Lukas-Kasha/E.P.Dutton ■ **Vera and Bill Cleaver**/Queen of Hearts/J.B. Lippincott Company ■ **Sid Fleischman**/Humbug Mountain/illustrations by Eric von Schmidt/Atlantic/Little, Brown ■ **Paula Fox**/The Little Swineherd and Other Tales/illustrations by Leonard Lubin/E.P. Dutton/A Henry Robbins Book ■ **Katherine Paterson**/The Great Gilly Hopkins/Thomas Y. Crowell Company

TRANSLATION

■ **Jonathan Chaves**/Yüan Hung-tao/Pilgrim of the Clouds: Poems and Essays from Ming China/John Weatherhill, Inc. ■ **Clayton Eshleman and José Rubia Barcia**/César Vallejo/The Complete Posthumous Poetry/University of California Press ■ **June Guicharnaud**/Pierre-Jakez Hélias/The Horse of Pride: Life in a Breton Village/Yale University Press ■ **Richard Howard**/Roland Barthes/A Lover's Discourse: Fragments/Hill and Wang ■ **Reynolds Price**/A Palpable God: Thirty Stories Translated from the Bible with an Essay on the Origins and Life of Narrative/Atheneum

THE 1979 NATIONAL BOOK AWARDS
☐ 30th ANNIVERSARY

Association of American Publishers
National Book Awards

Awards to be presented at Carnegie Hall on April 25, 1979, Dick Cavett, Master of Ceremonies; Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Speaker

Sponsored by the Association of American Publishers and Its General Publishing Division

141378 -2 APR 4 1979
SHERROD LIB
PERIOD DEPT
E TENN ST UNIV

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED